The Americans in their moral, social, and political relations. By Francis J. Grund.

THE AMERICANS IN THEIR MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS.

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PREFACE.

I respectfully submit the following work to the English public, not as the observations of a tourist, but as the result of the experience of one who has resided in America many years.

I have anxiously endeavoured to give an impartial account of the present condition of the United States; and faithfully to delineate those characteristic features which distinguish the Americans from the different nations of Europe. Whether I have succeeded, the public must decide; of whom I claim no other indulgence than that to which I may be entitled from the rectitude of my intentions, and an honest desire to correct prejudices—American or English—and not to furnish them with fresh aliment. A 3

The Americans have been grossly misrepresented; and this not so much by ascribing to them spurious qualities, as by omitting all mention of those which entitle them to honour

and respect; and representing the foibles of certain classes as weaknesses belonging to the nation.

The object of this publication will be attained, if it serve to inspire the English with more just conceptions of American worth, and increase the respect and friendship of America for England.

Regent Street, Dec. 24. 1836.

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ERRATUM IN VOL. I.

Page 48. line 2. for “distress” read “distrust.”

THE AMERICANS IN THEIR SOCIAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICAN MANNERS AND SOCIETY.—FASHIONABLE COTERIES.—DANDIES.—ARISTOCRACY.—ITS COMPOSITION AND PECULIARITIES.

There is scarcely a theme with which English readers are more familiar than that of American manners. From the grotesque sketches of Mrs. Trollope to the lofty and elegant conceptions of Hamilton and Basil Hall, the British public have been entertained with the

portentous matter of an American drawing room. I may, perhaps, disappoint my readers by not following the beaten track, so fertile in amusement and rare sports; for I shall neither repeat the silly pratings of boys and misses (which one may hear in every country), nor shall I make those who VOL. I. B 2 entertained me the subject of scorn and ridicule.—Neither shall I write an eulogy; for the truth being told, there is enough in the moral and social condition of Americans to interest the general reader.

By American manners I do not mean those of the fashionable coteries, nor the peculiar customs of certain districts to which the refinements of society have, as yet, hardly penetrated; but the general terms on which Americans associate with each other and with strangers.

Society, in America, is composed of a great number of heterogeneous elements, and the conventional standard, therefore, is less fixed than in any part of Europe. In the large towns it consists of persons from all parts of the world, with a valuable admixture of “Western,” “Southern,” and “Eastern people;” which names denote almost as many distinct varieties of the human race. Under these circumstances an American drawing-room must often present anomalies which, at first, will strike an educated English-man; but which are hardly ever offensive, and may always be explained by the moral and political condition of the country.

In the absence of a court, or a powerful aristocracy, 3 elegant accomplishments are seldom cultivated with a view to ornament society; and are rather the property of a few, whose good fortune it has been to move in the higher circles of Europe, than a general characteristic of a polite education in America. The Americans have, with very few exceptions, no time to cultivate fashionable elegance, which they consider a mere appendage to civilisation; but they are, notwithstanding, a highly sociable people, and, in their own way, both pleasing and instructive.

It has always been the fault of European writers to compare American manners, and especially those of the coteries styled “aristocratic,” to the polished ease of the higher classes of Europe. Occasionally they have, indeed, condescended to speak of merchants and manufacturers, whom they have even found equal to those of Liverpool and Manchester; but, with a forbearance which does credit to their ingenuity, they have not pushed the inquiry further, lest the superiority of the labouring classes might have compensated for the inferior accomplishments of the fashionable circles, and a certain nameless class in Europe altogether lacked its term of comparison in the United States. They B 2 4 seem to have been unaware of the fact, that America is really what Hamilton calls the city of Philadelphia— *médiocre par excellence;* her political institutions depriving her of the splendour of a throne—the focus of polite society in Europe; but, at the same time, saving her from the pernicious influence of an idle and turbulent mob—the destruction of public morality and virtue. The manners of Americans, therefore, are as far removed from the elegance of courts, as they are from the boorishness of the lower classes in Europe; and, perhaps, equally free from the vices of both. The true manners of a people do not show themselves in the drawing-room— *les hommes du salon se ressemblent partout;* but in the common transactions of public and private life; and it is, therefore, neither good sense nor justice to select a particular class, and in a peculiar situation, for the term of comparison with Europe.

In order to understand the customs and manners of Americans, we must trace them to their origin; when we shall find that most of what is valuable and substantial in their character is inherited from the English; but that at the same time, many of their foibles may be traced 5 to the same source, and especially those for which they are most censured by the English.

I shall not here stop to apologise for my belief that the manners and morals of the English (and there is an intimate connection between them,) are essentially superior to those of the people on the Continent. There may be less pliableness in the address and carriage of

an Englishman; but there is something in the composition of his character which is sure to command respect; there is that dignity which is incompatible with low cunning or conceit, and least capable of stooping to a wilful falsehood. This character, in all its severity, and enforced by the most solemn injunctions of religion, has been transplanted to the shores of the new world, to lay the foundation of what are now called American manners and morals. New England, of all the colonies, has had the greatest influence on the establishment of national customs, as a part of her sturdy population has been always emigrating westward, to renew and perpetuate the principles which gave rise to the settlement of Plymouth. But the people of New England were English, and are so now, in their feelings and sentiments: to the English, therefore, must B 3 6 be attributed most of the peculiarities for which they are condemned, as, indeed, most of the virtues for which they are celebrated.

This does not seem to have been taken sufficiently into consideration by any English traveller whose work has gone forth to enlighten the public. It is truly surprising how certain pictures of American manners could have contributed so much to the diversion of English readers, when we reflect on the fact that they were drawn from a class of society which has no particular claim to refinement in any country, and which, in Europe, presents the same mixture of vice and folly as in America, without, perhaps, some of its redeeming virtues. It remains to be explained why the fair author should have exposed herself to the expense and inconvenience of a long voyage, when she might have found sufficient matter for her book at home. What absurd caricatures of English manners and customs are not daily drawn by French and German satirists, without derogating one iota from the dignity of English society, of which most of them have nearly as correct a knowledge from personal observation as the author of “Domestic Manners” has of the better circles 7 in the United States. Peculiarities and anomalies will always exist in every country; but their number must naturally be greater in one whose boundless territory is divided into almost as many different states as there are counties in England. The peculiar features of a country, the physical distinction of its soil and climate, the principal occupation of its inhabitants, &c. imprint each a distinct character on the people, which it is difficult to

efface, even by the means of education. What difference does not, in this respect, exist between a North-Briton and an inhabitant of the Isle of Wight; or between the latter and a native of Yorkshire? And how preposterous would not be the idea of publishing either of these characters as correct specimens of the English?

Another remarkable trait of English travellers in the United States consists in their proneness to find the same faults with Americans which the people on the continent of Europe are apt to find with themselves. Thus it has been remarked that Americans are much given to extolling the excellence of their own institutions, whether civil or political, and to undervalue those of foreign countries. This is precisely the complaint B 4 8 about the English, by their continental neighbours, the French and the Germans. If we were to investigate the matter, we should find the cause to be perfectly analogous in both countries: a certain satisfaction that they are themselves belonging to that glorious community whose achievements, in the field and at home, have astonished the world.

Some apology may, indeed, be offered for this patriotic weakness, when we reflect on the actual superiority of British institutions, and especially on the immense influence they have had on the civilisation and happiness of the human race. But all the causes of British pride are equally operating on Americans. They are of the same origin; all the glory attached to the British name is that of their ancestors; and they have themselves had an honourable share in its acquisition. Their fathers were the bold settlers who first transplanted British laws and British genius to a new world, to perpetuate them to the end of time. But they have improved upon them. They have opened God's temples to all his worshippers; and, perhaps, for the first time on earth, raised the standard of equal liberty and justice. They have rallied round this standard to wage 9 war against the most powerful nation in Europe—and they were not conquered. A second time they were arrayed in battle against England, and a second time they proved themselves not inferior to their proud progenitors. Are these no causes for national vanity? And is this vanity not the highest encomium which they can possibly bestow on the English? Do not the English furnish the standard of American pride—the character to which they will not acknowledge themselves

inferior? When did any one hear the Americans draw envious comparisons between themselves and other nations, save the English? And what, after all, is this pride or conceit but English, strengthened and improved by the republican institutions of America? Is it not natural for men to be proud of belonging to a nation in proportion as they have a share in its government? Is there, in this respect, no difference between a British peer and a commoner? Is it, then, a wonder that the Americans should esteem others in proportion to the franchise they have acquired; and that as born legislators they should carry their heads sometimes higher than is consonant with the English idea of politeness?

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A second not less striking characteristic of American manners is a degree of seriousness which, at first, might almost be taken for want of sociability. An American is almost from his cradle brought up to reflect on his condition, and, from the time he is able to act, employed with the means of improving it. If he be rich, and have consequently a larger stake in the public weal, then every new law, every change of election (and there are many in the course of a year), will make him reflect on the future: if he be poor, every change may offer him an opportunity to improve his circumstances. He is ever watchful, ever on the alert, not as most Europeans, as a mere spectator, but as one of the actors, engaged in maintaining or reforming the existing state of affairs. Something like it may, at times, be felt in England, and perhaps even in France; but this cannot be compared to the effects of universal suffrage in America.

The whole mass of the population is constantly agitated; an expression of public opinion is constantly demanded, constantly hoped for, constantly dreaded. There is no man so rich or powerful but can be made to quail under its influence; nor any one so humble, in whom it may 11 not raise hopes of success and preferment. It is an all-powerful organ of public justice, sparing none from the president down to the most obscure citizens; elevating, humbling, or annihilating whatever it meets in its progress, if justly the object of its reproach.

This state of incessant excitement gives to the Americans an air of busy inquietude, for which they have often been pitied by Europeans; but which, in fact, constitutes their principal happiness. The Americans have no time to be unhappy—and this is saying much in favour of their government. The duties of republicans are more arduous than those of men living under any other form of government; but then their performance is pleasing and satisfactory; because it is connected with consciousness of power. No American would exchange his task for the comparative peace and quiet of Europe; because, in the words of Franklin, “he would be unwilling to pay too dear for the whistle.” He finds his solace and quietude at home; abroad he is “up and doing.” Peace there would be death to him. He would not, for the world, exchange his political activity for the speculative inertness of the Germans; the glorious 12 privilege of having himself a share in the government of his country, for the “ *dolce far niente* ” of the Italians; the busy stir of an election, for the idiot noise of a Vienna prado. Let those who are so prodigal of their compassion for the melancholy restlessness of Americans but remember the painful stupor which befel the Romans after the overthrow of the republic, when, all at once, released from their active duties of citizens, they found in “tranquillity” the principal punishment of their abandonment of virtue.

In proportion as the liberties of a people are enlarged, and their franchise extended, they must necessarily become more active and serious. For an illustration we need only compare the character of the French, since the revolution of July, with that which they possessed under the old Bourbon dynasty, previous to the revolution of 1789. How much gaiety and outward politeness is there not missing; but how much understanding and rational liberty gained? What difference is there not between the buffoonery of “merry England” under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the sober, demure composition of John Bull since the acquisition of the *habeas corpus* , and the revolution? And yet what 13 unbiassed individual in either country would wish back “the good old times,” or deny that the condition of the people has been materially improved by the change? Well, then, the Americans are, in common with the English, a more sober, calm, and reflecting people

than, perhaps, any other in the world; and, for this very reason, able to bear a larger proportion of rational liberty.

The influence of this character on the sociable circles of America is undoubtedly felt; but not in the manner generally described by Europeans. Thus, for instance, it does not destroy the spirit of hospitality, for which the Americans were always distinguished, although it has but too often been ill requited; it does not prevent them from receiving their friends in a cordial manner, or enjoying their own domestic fireside: but being always accustomed to thought and reflection, their minds are, perhaps, too fraught with the events of the day and the apprehensions of the future to preserve throughout that fashionable indifference on all topics, which can neither affect nor cheer any of the company present, and which, for that very reason, is considered essential to good manners in Europe. Their sentiments are often expressed with warmth 14 bordering on enthusiasm, and require, therefore, a greater degree of attention and sympathy on the part of their audience, than Europeans of rank are willing to bestow on ordinary subjects of conversation. On this account, American society is sometimes fatiguing; and the complaint has often been made by foreigners, that it requires a certain preparation in order to understand or enjoy it. Its demands on a stranger are more numerous than is always agreeable; and if he be a man of talent or reputation he is expected to show off and entertain the company. The Americans, on such occasions, are always willing to listen, to learn, and, perhaps, to question; but Europeans are not always ready to teach or to answer, and still less disposed to receive instruction from their entertainers. In this manner, society proves often a task to men of consideration and learning, instead of offering them a convenient respite as in Europe.

The most bitter reproach, however, which has ever been heaped upon American manners, is their unhallowed custom of talking about trade and traffic. This, during a period of more than fourteen years, I confess not to have remarked half as often as Hamilton, and never, except 15 from one man of business to another. I rather think an honourable exception was made in his favour, in order to acquaint him the better with American affairs, on which

they knew he was about to write a book; little suspecting that subjects so intrinsically mean, as mere trade and commerce, must necessarily be beneath the notice of an author. The Americans, I admit, show on all such occasions a morbid solicitude to forestall the good opinions of their guests; and would, perhaps, succeed better if they Were more careless and reserved. Notwithstanding all this we have his own acknowledgment as to the new ideas he acquired in this manner, which is at least a proof that American society was not without the means of improving his stock of information.*

* “Since my arrival,” says Mr. Hamilton, “I have received much involuntary instruction in the prices of corn, cotton, and tobacco. My stock of information as to bankruptcies is very respectable; and if the manufacturers of Glasgow and Paisley knew only half as well as I do how thoroughly the new market is glutted with their goods, they assuredly would send out no more on speculation.”

If the learned author had gathered more such “respectable” information, he would at least have made his work more useful to his country.

The Americans have also been reproached 16 with an almost slavish imitation of European manners; which, amongst the wealthier classes at least, is said to exist in a degree bordering on the ludicrous. This is decidedly the greatest and most merited charge that can be brought against them, and that noble spirit of independence for which they are, in other respects, remarkable.

Every nation has an indisputable right to fix its own conventional standard, which must be based on its history and the general habits of the people, resulting from the climate, soil, and the political institutions of the country. No native of Russia would judge a West Indian by the conventional standard of Petersburg; nor would an Englishman govern his conduct by the rules of etiquette of Rome or Naples. What in a mercantile community might be perfectly just and proper, would, under a military government, be considered in a very different light; and the ceremony of a Turkish divan would ill suit the council

chamber of the King of England. The Americans alone seem to have given up the privilege of establishing conventional rules of their own; and thus, with a singular complaisance, judge the manners of every foreigner, and 17 suffer their own to be judged, by the standard of another country. The consequence of this want of independence is felt in the arrogance and presumption with which even the meanest and most ignorant of Europeans passes sentence on American manners, whenever they disagree with his own; and in his unrestrained contempt for those whom he sees anxiously striving to imitate what a European valet or a footman is infinitely more successful in accomplishing; whilst their laws, their political institutions, and the industrious habits of the people, are in open contradiction with the frivolities of mere fashionable life. How often have I not, myself, seen Europeans curl their lips at the apparent plainless of Americans, who were, in every respect, their superiors, save in the cut of the coat and the felicitous adaptation of a coxcomb's bow; and, what is worse, beheld these sentiments approved by some American exquisite, who had just returned home, fraught with the follies of all countries, but seemingly light of the good sense of his own.

The attempt to create fashionable and aristocratic distinctions, will, in America, never be crowned with success. The reason is apparent. VOL. I. C 18 Every species of aristocracy must be based on wealth and power, and contain, within itself, the principle of perpetuity. Without these requisites sites their superiority will neither be acknowledged, nor will they have the means of enforcing it. There exists in the large cities of America certain coteries, composed principally of wealthy families; but their wealth is not permanent, and they are perfectly powerless when opposed to the great mass of the people. Not more than one fourth of all the men who possess property in the United States have inherited it; the rest have acquired it by their own industry. Scarcely one fourth, therefore, could have been brought up in the elegancies of fashionable life; the remainder are recruits and stragglers. But in the total absence of monopolies, and with the immense resources of the country, the road to fortune is open to all; while those who possess property may lose it, and must, at any rate, ultimately divide it equally amongst their children. The elements of American

coteries are, therefore, constantly varying; but every new change brings them nearer to a level with the people.

The abrogation of primogeniture, in America, 19 has done more towards equalising all conditions than the spirit of exclusiveness will ever be able to overcome: aristocratic pretensions may exist; but they will always remain impotent, and die with the respective pretenders. The absence of primogeniture acts as a constant moderator in society, humbling the rich and elevating the poor. It obliges the sons of the wealthy to join personal application to an honest inheritance, and elevates the hopes of the lower classes with the expectance of future prosperity. It is thus the strongest pillar of democracy in the constitution of nearly every State of the Union.

No aristocracy can exist or maintain itself without property. The nobility of France had virtually ceased to exist long before the hereditary peerage was abolished; while the patronage of the English would alone be sufficient to establish a power which would make itself felt, even if the House of Lords were reformed.

There are even those* who believe that in the latter case its power, instead of being confined to its usual channel, would extend itself over every department of state, and absorb, for C 2

* Heine.

20 a time at least, the main interests of the country. The American aristocracy, on the contrary, possess neither hereditary wealth nor privileges, nor the power of directing the lower classes. The prosperity of the country is too general to reduce any portion of the people to the abject condition of ministers to the passions and appetites of the rich. It is even gold which destroys the worship of the golden calf.

But how can it be possible for the American aristocracy to lay claims to superior distinctions, when the people are constantly reminded, by words and actions, that *they* are the legislators, that the *fee-simple* is in *them* , and that *they* possess the invaluable

privilege of calling to office men of their own choice and principles? Are not the American people called upon to pass sentence on every individual whose ambition may prompt him to seek distinction and honour at their hands? And what is not done to conciliate the good will and favour of the people? Are they not constantly flattered, courted, and caressed by that very aristocracy which, if it truly existed, would spurn equality with the people? Is their judgment, expressed by the ballot-box, not appealed to as the ultimate decision 21 of every argument and contest? Aristocracy, if it shall deserve that name, must not only be based on the vain pretensions of certain classes, but on its public acknowledgment by law, and the common consent of others. This, however, is not the work of a generation, and requires an *historical* connection with the origin and progress of a country.

Why, then, should the Americans recognise a superior class of society, if that class be neither acknowledged by law nor possessed of power? How shall they be brought to worship those from whom they are accustomed to receive homage?—who are either men of their own election, and consequently of their own making, or the defeated and unhappy victims of their displeasure? The aristocracy of America may claim genius, and talent, and superiority, and they may be ambitious; but it is an “ambition of so airy and light a quality that it is but a shadow's shadow”—a sort of *fata morgana* reflected from beyond the waters, whose baseless fabric can neither excite apprehension, nor arrest the progress of democracy.—Coteries there always were, and always will be, in large cities; but they need not necessarily be connected with power. C 3 22 In America, moreover, they exist, principally, among the ladies; there being, as yet, but few gentlemen to be called “of leisure,” or exclusively devoted to society. The country is yet too young, and offers too large a field for the spirit of enterprise and business, to leave to the fashionable drawing-rooms other devotees than young misses and *elegants* of from fourteen to twenty years of age. That such companies may, nevertheless, have their *attractions* , no one can reasonably doubt; but they are not composed of elements capable of changing the manners and customs of the country; and, as long as their composition does not materially

alter, must remain deprived of that influence which the higher circles in Europe are wont to exercise over all classes of society.

The manners of republicans must necessarily be more nearly on a level with each other than those of a people living under a monarchical government. There are no nobles to vie with the splendour of the throne; no commoners to outdo the nobility. The dignified simplicity of the American President and all high function aries of state is little calculated to furnish patterns of expensive fashions; and, were all Americans, 23 in this respect, exact imitators of the amiable plainness of General Jackson, their manners would soon cease to be an object of satire to English tourists. They would then present dignity without ornament, candour without loquacity, loftiness of mind unmingled with contempt for others. Europeans would then visit the United States, not to ridicule American manners, but for the purpose of studying them; and, perhaps, carry home the useful conviction, that though republics are no fit schools for courtiers, they may, nevertheless, abound in good sense, agreeable address, and genuine cordiality of manners.

When I said that the manners of republicans must be more nearly on a level with each other than those of a people living under a different form of government, I was far from conceiving it in the sordid sense in which it has often been applied to Americans. The tendency of American democracy is not to debase the wealthy in mind or fortune, but to raise the inferior classes to a moral elevation, where they need no longer be degraded and despised. It is not a drawback on individual distinctions or merit,—which, on the contrary, it encourages more than any other C 4 24 government—but it is a great safeguard against the total abjectedness of the lower classes. The seeming equality of conditions in America is not effected by withholding certain privileges from the educated and wealthy; but by extending them to the middle and even inferior orders of society.

The man of education, or of fortune, is respected in America as in Europe; but the deference paid to his person is untinged with the humiliating consciousness of being incapable ever to attain to the same distinctions. There is nothing in the institutions of

America to derogate from the dignity of gentlemen: they simply prevent a certain class from enjoying that title to the prejudice and exclusion of all the rest. They are not unjust to the rich and the learned because they are more just to the poor; they do not prevent good breeding or good manners; but, on the contrary, spread them amongst a larger number of people. But there are men who cannot enjoy wealth unless they know that others are poor; who value knowledge only in proportion as it gives them power over their fellow-creatures; who could not relish venison unless they knew a half-starved population was dying for the want of bread. Such men have repeatedly 25 visited the United States, and were, of course, much annoyed with the vulgar plenty of the land, and the desire of every American to be considered “a gentleman.” It was this feature of democracy which they described as begetting low breeding; because it is apt to make Americans wanting in that outward respect, which a certain class of men is always sure to meet with in Europe. But deference for the just claims of others need not necessarily be accompanied by marks of humiliating self-denial; and it is, perhaps, better that the whole distinction should be dropped, than that the inferiority should exist in the degree indicated by the outward forms of civility.

But to judge of the manners of a people one must have been a resident amongst them, and not a mere tourist. From the writings of Basil Hall and Hamilton, it is evident that neither of these gentlemen became acquainted with any but the fashionable coteries of the great cities; and that the manners of the *people* , and especially those of the respectable middle classes, escaped altogether their immediate attention. What they say of them in their respective works is not the result of personal 26 observation; but rather the stale reiteration of some evening's conversation, coloured by the partisan spirit of politics and religion. Mrs. Trollope, on the contrary, was hardly known in fashionable society, and only saw the western part of the country: yet, notwithstanding all this, her book is clever, and has that superiority over the productions of her masculine competitors which a caricature, ever so badly drawn, has over a portrait destitute of resemblance.

The most remarkable characteristic of Americans is the uncommon degree of intelligence which pervades all classes. I do not here speak of the higher branches of learning

which, in the language of Europe, constitute scholarship; but of the great mass of useful knowledge calculated to benefit and improve the condition of mankind. It is this latter knowledge for which the Americans are distinguished, and for the attainment of which they have, perhaps, made better provision than any other nation in the world. This is as it should be. No democracy can exist for any length of time without the means of education being widely diffused throughout the country; but it is certainly not to be expected that republicans should tax themselves, in order 27 to gratify certain elegant tastes which are of no immediate benefit to the public. The study of the higher branches of science, and the cultivation of the fine arts, find their principal reward in the pleasure arising from the pursuit, and require seldom the assistance of the law to be called into active existence. Wherever this is done, the people have to bear the expense of it, without receiving the gratification. The Americans are yet occupied with what is necessary and useful, and are, therefore, obliged to leave the higher accomplishments to the protection of individual munificence. But let any one cast his eye on the sums annually expended for the establishment and support of common schools and colleges, and he will, at once, be convinced of the liberality of Americans in the cause of education; although no allowances are, as yet, made for professorships of heraldry, or the discovery of a north-west passage. I shall not, here, discuss the matter any further, as I intend to recur to it in another place; but I would ask what influence the higher branches of learning have on the social intercourse of a people, or the manners of society in general? What fashionable company in England was ever graced or edified by the conversation 28 of Sir Isaac Newton? What select circle in Germany ever enjoyed and delighted in the philosophical researches of Kant and Leibnitz? Men of letters, and more especially *proficients in science* , are rarely welcome guests at a party; and, in Germany, they have been uniformly banished to the universities. Neither the arts nor the sciences have, till lately, received particular encouragement from the German courts; and it was with great justice Schiller could say of Frederic the Great that the German muse was banished from his court* and yet, at that very period, the most effectual measures were taken, by men of letters themselves, to ensure the progress and independence of German literature.

* Von dem grössten Deutschen Sohne, Von des grossen Friedrichs Throne Gieng sie schutzlos ungeehrt. Rühmlich darfs der Deutsche sagen, Höher darf das Herz ihm schlagen: Selbst erschuf er sich den Werth.

Schiller's *German Muse.*

From the greatest German son, From great Fred'rick's noble throne, Unprotected went she forth. Proudly may the Germans speak it; Loudly may his heart repeat it: He himself achieved his worth.

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But the remark that men of letters do not hold a distinguished rank in American society is totally false and unfounded. There is, perhaps, no society to which learning furnishes a better introduction; and I am quite certain that some of the gentlemen who have lately visited the United States “for the laudable purpose of information,” owe their friendly reception there more to their high reputation as *scholars* , than to any rank they may hold in the army or navy. Scholarship, in America, is, indeed, not so common as it is in Europe; but the individuals who are able to lay claims to it, are sure of meeting with the acknowledgment due to their merits, and a certain acquaintance with the elements of science is an almost indispensable requisite for admission into good company. The conversation of Americans turns, generally, more on scientific subjects than would be believed by Europeans, and differs, in this respect, widely, from the insipid common-place of the fashionable circles of Europe.* There is hardly a branch of learning

* I write this at Munich, a city which has been much and justly extolled on account of its liberal institutions, and whose progress in the sciences and the fine arts has occupied a large space in the “Foreign Quarterly.” The King of Bavaria is himself a poet and an artist; and possesses the most perfect judgment of every thing relating to the arts. But notwithstanding this noble example of the king himself, and his liberal and munificent encouragement of learning, there are but two scientific gentlemen—Mr. T and Mr. S —

who can boast of being freely admitted into the higher circles: but as the usual topics of conversation do not often allow them to display their acquirements, they are merely pointed out to strangers somewhat in the same manner as the giraffe or the elephant in the zoological gardens.

30 which, at some time or other, is not introduced into their colloquies, and there are few scholars in America who would be denied the privilege of expressing their opinions on a favourite topic, or whose conversation would not be listened to with increased interest and pleasure. To this may be added the proneness of Americans to argue, which, though it may not always correspond to the European idea of good manners, lends, nevertheless, to conversation a zest of which it would otherwise be deprived.

Society, in all countries, gains more from the amount of floating intellect, and the capacity of all its members to join in conversation, than from the amount of knowledge treasured up in the minds of individuals. This principle applies 31 most happily to the social condition of the United States; for it would be difficult to find a country where information is more generally diffused, or the people of all classes more capable of expressing their ideas with clearness and precision. A certain directness of thought and expression may, indeed, be considered a national peculiarity of Americans, and contributes certainly much to their apparent plainness of manners. Mere fashionable elegance passes with them for little or nothing; but in no country are power of reasoning, force of argument, and acuteness of observation at a greater premium. Good sense is the ruling element of society, as it is the main spring of all their public actions; and the country at large is much a gainer in the result. Mannerism is hardly ever cultivated to the prejudice of the more substantial acquirements, as the conventions of society offer but little or no protection to the ignorance or pretensions of impostors; and I cannot imagine any circumstances more capable of exhibiting an idiot in trouble than an empty-headed coxcomb in company with rational Americans. Fashionables and exquisites there are in the large cities of the United States as in Europe; but they are certainly 32 less the object of envy or admiration, and are almost exclusively in favour with the young misses of the boarding-schools. Their

bright career commences and finishes with the lights of the drawing-rooms, and their only chance of distinction is at a waltz or a quadrille. But once entrapped by some fair enchantress, they quickly turn their attention to objects more useful and profitable. The prospect of supporting a wife and family becomes then the all-engrossing object of their thoughts and reflections; and it is by no means unfrequent, to see an American at the age of twenty-one settle down into a sober husband and father of a family. I have hardly ever known an American fashionable, who was not a minor; but I have never seen one at the bar or on change.

With all the misfortunes which the abolition of primogeniture may have entailed on America* , it certainly has done much towards establishing permanent habits of industry; and as long as these last, buffoons and coxcombs must certainly despair of success.

* The learned author of “Men and Manners,” ascribes the *total* absence of the higher elegancies of life in America to the abolition of primogeniture.

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To sum up the argument.—Whatever advantages, with regard to elegance and external accomplishment, Europeans of rank and fashion may possess over the great majority of Americans, the balance of common sense, general information, and high moral rectitude, may nevertheless incline in favour of the latter. American society offers, as yet, but few attractions to the man of the world; but it has wherewith to satisfy the heart and the understanding of the follower of nature; it does not command the luxuries of the aristocratic coteries of Europe; but it abounds in comforts and rational enjoyments; its general ton and etiquette may fall short of the expectations of a courtier; but it is inferior to none—and perhaps unrivalled—in simplicity and cordiality of manners. VOL. I. D

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CHAP. II.

AMERICAN LADIES.—SANCTITY OF MARRIAGES.—DOMESTIC HABITS.—AVERSION TO PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS.—CHURCHES.—INFLUENCE OF THE WANT OF A CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.—KEEPING OF THE SABBATH.

Having thus far expressed my opinion of American society in general, I may, perhaps be permitted to offer a few remarks on the women. I am fully aware of the delicacy of the subject and the difficulty of the task; but having once undertaken it, I shall offer the result of my observations notwithstanding the failures in comparison, and the errors in judgment, of which I may have been guilty.

The forms of American ladies are generally distinguished by great symmetry and fineness of proportion; but their frames and constitutions seem to be less vigorous than those of the ladies of almost any country in Europe. Their complexions which, to the South, incline towards the Spanish, are, to the North, remarkably fair 35 and blooming, and while young, by far the greater portion of them are decidedly handsome. A marked expression of intelligence, and a certain indescribable air of languor—probably the result of the climate—lend to their countenances a peculiar charm, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in Europe. An American lady, in her teens, is, perhaps, the most sylph-like creature on earth. Her limbs are exquisitely wrought, her motions light and graceful, and her whole carriage at once easy and dignified. But these beauties, it is painful to say, are doomed to an early decay.

At the period of twenty-four a certain want of fulness in her proportions is already perceptible; and, once passed the age of thirty, the whole fabric goes seemingly into decay. As the principal cause of this sudden decline, some allege the climate; but I ascribe it more willingly to the great assiduity with which American ladies discharge their duties as mothers. No sooner are they married than they begin to lead a life of comparative seclusion; and once mothers, they are actually buried to the world. At the period of ushering their children into society they appear, indeed, once more, as respectable

matrons; but they are then only D 2 36 the silent witnesses of the triumphs of their daughters.

An American mother is the nurse, tutor, friend and counsellor of her children. Nearly the whole business of education devolves upon her; and the task is, in many instances, beyond her physical ability. Thus it is customary with many ladies in New England not only to hear their children recite the lessons assigned to them at school; but actually to expound them, and to assist them in the solution of arithmetical and algebraic problems. There are married ladies who apply themselves seriously to the study of mathematics and the classics, for no other purpose than forwarding the education of their children; and I have known young men who have entered college with no other instruction, in any of the preparatory departments, than what they received from their mothers. But this continued application to the most arduous duties, the increasing care and anxiety for the progress and welfare of their children, and the consequent unreasonable confinement to the house and the nursery, undermine constitutions, already by nature sufficiently delicate; and it is thus by the sacrifice of health and beauty that American ladies pay to their offspring the sacred tribute of 37 maternal affection. No human being can ever requite the tender cares of a mother; but it appears to me that the Americans have, in this respect, obligations immeasurably greater than those of the inhabitants of any other country.

But there is one perfection in ladies—sometimes the first to attract our notice, and the last to vanish when every other beauty has faded and departed—which consists in delicate feet and ankles. The idea is taken from Goethe's celebrated novel “Die Wahlverwandtschaften,” and would have hardly found its introduction here, were I not backed by the all-powerful authority of the immortal poet, who, at the same time, was the most accomplished artist. Well then, this perfection is one, of which American ladies can certainly boast, and which they possess even in a higher degree than the French, though they take infinitely less pains to obtrude it on the notice of strangers. I would

recommend this to the attention of certain tourists who have much expatiated on the forms and features of American ladies, and profess to be “competent judges of female beauty.”

With regard to education, American ladies resemble the English; which is, probably, the D 3 38 highest encomium which can be bestowed on their good sense and manners. If I judge right, there is, in this respect, less distinction between an English and American lady than between an English and American gentleman. Differences in politics, occupation, &c., must necessarily draw stronger lines of demarcation between men than the more limited sphere of action can possibly create between women; but the distinction must become small, indeed, where the education of the latter rests upon one and the same basis. The principles of revealed religion and a sound moral philosophy constitute, in America as in England, the foundation of all female instruction; and it is (with the exception of the fashionable circles) a rare case, in either country, to see the mere *agréments de société* preferred to the more substantial acquirements which qualify ladies for their future stations as wives and mothers. Female dignity is ever more the result of character and principle than of mere outward grace and refinement; and I cannot, in this respect, imagine the women of any country equal to the English or American. In the United States, where there are no classes of society debased in the estimation of the people, 39 and consequently, none degraded in their own, this distinction extends even to persons in the humblest walks of life, and is there productive of a species of pride, which Europeans have often mistaken for presumption; but which, in fact, arises from a consciousness of moral worth and unexceptionable behaviour, which can lay just claims to our consideration wherever we find it. I have seen nothing among the lower classes of Europe at all to be compared to it; and it has certainly given me the highest opinion of the general morality of female republicans.

In point of fashionable accomplishment, American ladies are, perhaps, inferior to those of Europe; but the elements of an English, and even classical, education are in no country more widely diffused. In addition to Latin and Greek, a young miss of respectable parents is expected to become versed in the elements of chemistry, mineralogy, botany, natural

philosophy, algebra, geometry, and astronomy, to which the more gifted add even Hebrew and the higher branches of mathematics. In the pursuit of these studies, they are generally allowed to spend quite as much time, and even more, than the young men at college; and it cannot, therefore, D 4 40 be surprising if the balance of general information should, in the United States, incline in favour of the women. There are few scientific topics of conversation on which an American lady would not be ready to join; and there are certainly less of English reading which are not perfectly familiar to the wives and daughters of respectable tradesmen. Music and drawing are, in America, less cultivated than they are in France or Germany; but there is quite as much parlour-amusement as in England, and certainly no lack of the graceful accomplishment of dancing. One deficiency, however, I cannot refrain from mentioning, which consists in the imperfect acquirement of modern languages. This, I think, must be the fault of the instructors, who are in the habit of teaching French or Italian in the same manner as the classics, troubling themselves little about accent or emphasis, and still less about the familiar idioms of the language. The consequence is, that many American ladies are well able to read French, Italian, and German, and to understand and appreciate even the literature of these languages; but there are comparatively few who can speak either of them with purity or elegance. Great improvements, 41 however, are daily making in the American system of instruction; and it is, therefore, to be hoped that this defect will soon yield to the efforts of more experienced teachers.

What I have above remarked in reference to scientific acquirements, applies more particularly to the ladies of New England, of whom it is said that they are always infused “with a slight tinge of the blue.” Whether this be true or not, I am unable to judge; but I am quite certain that there are few ladies, in any country, whose company and conversation are more agreeable and encouraging to men of letters. The society of Boston, especially, is distinguished for its unusual number of clever women, and a certain literary taste is perhaps on this account diffused even amongst the merchants. The influence of this intellectual refinement is strikingly visible in the manners of the Bostonians, and has

created an honourable distinction in favour of their city, which, by the common consent of Americans, is called the Athens of the United States.

The ladies of Philadelphia, and the south generally, possess other advantages not less conspicuous and attractive. Theirs is the province 42 of the graces and the fine arts. I can safely affirm that I have heard as good *amateur* concerts in Charleston and Philadelphia as in any part of France or Germany; and I am, certainly, not disposed to undervalue, in this respect, the claims of my native country. Drawing and painting are also much more cultivated than they are to the north; and foreign languages, especially French and Spanish, are spoken with greater fluency. Their manners are more distinguished for grace and elegance, and their personal attractions are in England known by the appellation of “American beauty.” But all these accomplishments do not prevent them from discharging their duties as wives and mothers; and it is quite an erroneous notion, though sufficiently prevalent in the Northern States, that the ladies of the south are deficient in their domestic arrangements, or negligent in the education of their children. The case is indeed quite the reverse. The household of a southern planter is generally quite as well arranged as that of a farmer to the north; though it is infinitely more complicate on account of the slaves. In case of sickness, even among the negroes, or any other domestic calamity, the energy and patience of 43 the southern ladies are severely taxed; and, as for the instruction of children, the task devolves almost entirely on them; few good schools or seminaries of learning being comparatively at the command of the parents, and among these, hardly any for the education of daughters.

It has, sometimes, been remarked that American ladies, though usually fine and agreeable, are not always replete with imagination. It is not long since I heard his Royal Highness the duke of * *, remark that he had seen many American ladies at his mother's court; but that, to *him* , they were like a gallery of statues. The prince made some other very witty remarks on America, the precise meaning of which I was unable to comprehend, and concluded by comparing the western world to a woman (he probably meant a young and a blooming one), while Europe was to him the strong and lordly man of creation. I took

the liberty to reply that *young women* were frequently more vigorous and powerful than *old men* , especially when the limbs of the latter afforded already specimens of morbid anatomy, which, of course, I could not be supposed to apply to the duke's own dominions. There could be nothing offensive in his sarcasm 44 on American ladies, as it was generally whispered in society that the duke's indiscretions had rendered his admiration of women somewhat more than suspicious.

There is, in the great majority of American ladies, that calm subjection of passion and temper which they deem indispensable to female dignity, or grace; but it does not follow that, on this account, they must be devoid of imagination and feeling. Their eyes are, perhaps, less expressive of what, in Italy, would be called *passion;* but they are beaming with intelligence and kindness; and the great number of Europeans annually married in the United States, proves at least, that they are capable of kindling love and permanent attachment. But the strongest argument in favour of their sentiments is the almost universal practice of marrying “for love,” to which only few of the fashionable coteries in the large cities seem to make an exception. The influence of this moral habit, based, as it is, on the salutary principle of a free choice, manifests itself powerfully in the rapid progress of population, and perhaps also in the substance and composition of the American people.

45

As regards the morality and virtue of American ladies, it will suffice to say that they are not inferior to the English, who are universally acknowledged to be the best wives and mothers in Europe. The slightest suspicion against the character of a lady, is, in America, as in England, sufficient to exclude her from society; but, in America, public opinion is equally severe on men, and this is certainly a considerable improvement. Accordingly, there is no country in which scandal, even amongst the most fashionable circles, is so rare as in the United States, or where the term “ *intrigue* ” is less known and understood. I shall always remember the observation of a French gentleman who could find nothing to interest him in

American society; because “it precluded the very idea of a *liaison.* ” “ *Ah* ,” exclaimed he, “ *c'est le paradis des maris!* ”

Thus far, I have spoken of the manners of Americans in general; much, however, remains yet to be said of their peculiar domestic habits.

The houses of the wealthier classes resemble those of the gentry in England, and are wanting in nothing which can materially contribute to comfort. Some of the higher elegancies of life, 46 are, indeed, confined to a few imitators of European fashions; but there is a sufficiency of all that is essential and needful. No ostentatious attempt is ever made to display either fortune or riches; but, on the contrary, every thing avoided which, being contrary to republican plainness, might offend, or unnecessarily attract the attention of the people. Furniture, dress, carriages, &c., are all of the simplest construction; and the oldest and most aristocratic families set, in this respect, the example to the more recently promoted fashionables. Whatever political reason there may exist for the prevalence of this taste; it is nevertheless a good one, and being shared by the great majority of the nation, impresses a peculiar character of simplicity on the domestic life of Americans. It is impossible for an European to live for any length of time in the United States, without being constantly reminded, in town or in the country, at home or abroad, that he is living in a republic, and that the sovereign power of that republic is solely vested in the majority; for, whatever is capable of exciting envy or jealousy by too glaring a distinction from the inferior classes is condemned by public opinion, and on that account, 47 studiously avoided by persons of all ranks of society. But then the great prosperity of the country enables even the labouring classes to enjoy comforts much beyond the reach of superior orders in Europe; and prevents the scale from becoming too low.

On entering the house of a respectable mechanic, in any of the large cities of the United States, one cannot but be astonished at the apparent neatness and comfort of the apartments, the large airy parlours, the nice carpets and mahogany furniture, and the tolerably good library, showing the inmates' acquaintance with the standard works of

English literature. These are advantages which but few individuals of the same class enjoy, by way of distinction, in Europe; but which, in America, are within the reasonable hopes and expectations of almost all the inferior classes. What powerful stimulus is not this to industry? What premium on sobriety and unexceptionable conduct? A certain degree of respectability is, in all countries, attached to property, and is, perhaps, one of the principal reasons why riches are coveted. A poor man has certainly more temptations, and requires more virtue to withstand them, than one who is in tolerable circumstances. The motives of the 48 rich are hardly ever questioned, while the poor are but too often objects of distress and suspicion. *Pauper ubique jacet.*

The labouring classes in America are really less removed from the wealthy merchants and professional men than they are in any part of Europe; and the term “mob,” with which the lower classes in England are honoured, does not apply to any portion of the American community. With greater ease and comfort in his domestic arrangements, the labouring American acquires also the necessary leisure and disposition for reading; his circle of ideas becomes enlarged, and he is rendered more capable of appreciating the advantages of the political institutions of his country. Both thought and reflection may be crushed by excessive labour, and the lofty aspirings of the mind enslaved by the cravings of the body. Liberty, without promoting the material interests of man, is a thing altogether beyond the comprehension of the multitude; and there are many who, had they attained it, would, like the Israelites of old, wish themselves back to their meat-pots. I know not whether it is quest of liberty or property which causes Europeans to emigrate to America: but I am 49 satisfied that there is an intimate connection between the two, and a constant action of one upon the other.

An excellent habit of the Americans, which is an incalculable promoter of domestic happiness, consists in their passing all the time which is not required for active business at home or in the circle of their acquaintance. To this custom must be ascribed the unusual number of happy marriages in the United States, which is the corner-stone of the high morality of the country. Public-houses, in America, are almost wholly frequented by

travellers; and the practice has recently been introduced into many of them, not to sell wine or liquor of any description except to boarders.

But there is one deficiency in the general routine of pleasure in the United States, which is particularly oppressive to the labouring classes, and consists in the almost total absence of public gardens or pleasure-grounds in the large cities. There is nothing more favourable to a community of feeling, and a certain momentary oblivion of all ranks and distinctions, which attaches us more warmly to our kind, than public places of rendezvous, frequented by all classes of society, VOL. I. E 50 and enjoyed alike by all. In Europe, nearly every large city is adorned with them; and in Germany, every hamlet; but in America, they seem to be opposed to the domestic habits of the people. New York has something in the shape of a public garden in the establishment of Niblo's and the battery. But there is, generally, an admission fee to both; and neither one nor the other is large enough to contain a considerable portion of the whole population of the city. The battery, especially, can only be frequented in the evening, there being neither trees nor shrubs to afford the least shelter against the sun, though the place itself, from its elevation, commands a most beautiful view of the harbour. Boston alone, of all the cities in the United States, has a large public mall; but even this (the munificent gift of an individual) is but little frequented, though the scenery around it is highly picturesque, and the walks themselves shaded by a most superb double row of chestnuts There seems to be no want of disposition on the part of the Bostonians generally to profit by these advantages; but unfortunately the taste of the fashionable society has pronounced a verdict against it, and avoids most carefully 51 being mixed and confounded with the multitude.

This morbid sensitiveness, on the part of the higher classes, arises, unquestionably, from the total absence of any exterior distinction between themselves and the lower orders, which could point them out as objects of particular respect and reverence; but I must greatly mistake the general character of Americans if I am not right in the conjecture, that a greater degree of condescension in the learned and wealthy could hardly fail of meeting with a proper acknowledgment on the part of the people; while, on the contrary,

too great a reserve in the former must necessarily deprive them of a portion of that power and influence which they would, otherwise, be sure to possess. If the American people are guilty of any fault, it is certainly not ingratitude. Whoever has observed their conduct at public meetings, in presence of their favourite speakers and representatives, can testify to the unfeigned respect and uncommon propriety of manner with which they are wont to meet those whose stations and acquirements are really superior to their own. Nothing can be more pusillanimous than the fear of being confounded with the vulgar; and it is E 2 52 certainly the worst argument, in favour of real or assumed superiority, to dread the contact of those whom we affect to despise. May a more Christian and charitable feeling soon take the place of this mawkish resuscitation of aristocratic pride, which would befit certain orders in Europe infinitely better than the even-born citizens of a republic.

The style of buildings in America is chiefly English, with some slight variation in New York and Philadelphia; but, to the south, the houses are adapted to the climate, and of an architecture somewhat resembling the Spanish. The parlours are usually on the ground-floor (in all the new houses they are on the first floor), and communicate with each other by folding doors; the story immediately above contains the chambers and the nursery, and the third and fourth floors are occupied by the remainder of the family and the servants. Nearly all the houses of the wealthier citizens contain a number of spare rooms, reserved for the accommodation of guests from the country; and the same kind hospitality is frequently tendered to strangers. Most of the modern houses are of brick or stone, and generally from three to four stories high; the 53 Americans showing great fondness for large and spacious dwellings, and the ground in the cities being already too dear to allow them to expatiate much in area. The exterior of the buildings is less marked by style or elegance than the interior is clean and comfortable; and the custom prevails, as in England, for each family to occupy a house of its own. The principal ornament consists in a sort of portico of various dimensions and orders, and a flight of steps leading up to the entrance. In Boston and New York, these steps are commonly of sandstone or granite (a species of sienite); but in Philadelphia, they are of beautiful white marble which, by daily

ablution, is kept as clean as the floor of the parlours, and contributes much to the neat appearance of the streets.

The residence of a planter, in the southern states, is altogether built for the summer; the rooms having as many windows as practicable, and a large covered piazza, resting on wooden or stone pillars, extending the whole front of the building. This piazza is sometimes carried all round the house, and composed of as many stories as the building itself. Their effect on the eye is far from disagreeable, and their practical E 3 54 advantage in affording shelter against the sun and the dew of those climates, makes them a pleasant retreat for all the members of the family.

All the streets of the large cities are well paved or macadamised, and the side walks, commonly of brick or of flag-stone, elevated, as in England, to protect the people against horses and vehicles. In Boston and Philadelphia, they are kept exceedingly clean; but in New York, with the exception of Broadway, the principal street, they often contain wherewithal to feed multitudes of those gentle creatures “that plow not nor obey thy call.”

The continued bustle and stir of business in New York seems to preclude the possibility of sweeping and cleansing them; and it may, therefore, be considered a happy circumstance, that a set of scavengers should have been found willing to do the needful from sheer inclination; and ready, at any time, to pay with their own flesh and blood for whatever advantages they may thus be suffered to enjoy.

It must not be inferred, however, that the part inhabited by the more wealthy inhabitants (which is now the West end of the town, and 55 bids fair to rival, at some future day, the most fashionable parts of London,) are in the same filthy state. There all is neatness and cleanliness. The streets are daily swept and sprinkled with water; the side walks are kept clean; the porticos of the houses are of marble or sienite; in short, that part is superior in style and elegance to anything exhibited in other cities of the United States. Neither is the vicinity of the dwellings of the lowest classes more disgusting and mean than some

of the dirty lanes of London or Southwark, and certainly far superior to the wretched hovels of the poor in Dublin. Whenever the Americans speak of the poor, the term is used merely in contradistinction to the rich, but never denotes that abject order of human beings who, in the larger capitals of Europe, offend and disgust the eye with scenes of the most abandoned wretchedness. How long this state of prosperity is to last, it is difficult at present to foretell; but as long as any portion of the Western territory remains to be settled, no period can be assigned to its progress.

At the beginning of this work I proposed to myself not to give descriptions of inanimate objects, further than might be necessary to illustrate the E 4 56 manners of the people. Whether works of architecture come under this head or not, I am unable to decide; but I think it not inconsistent with the general plan of the work to offer a few remarks on American churches. The greater number of these, when compared to the wealth of their respective congregations, are decidedly mean, both in their exterior and interior appearance; and there exists, in this respect, an infinitely greater disparity between them and the houses of worship in Europe, than between the dwellings of the rich and the palaces of European princes. If republicans are at all permitted to display splendour and magnificence without offending the pride of their fellow citizens, it is certainly in the edifices of public worship, and in the halls of their legislative assemblies. With regard to the latter, the Americans possess, already, a proud monument of national grandeur. The capitol at Washington, situated on an eminence commanding an unobstructed view of many miles in circumference, is an edifice of the most imposing structure and proportions; and, from its very position, incredibly superior to any of the public palaces in Europe. The interior, too, corresponds well with the dignity of the design: 57 but the most sublime effect is produced by its standing high, free, and alone, as the institutions it guards in its bosom; overshadowing hills, and valleys, and rivers of the mighty land over which it exerts the benign influence of law and justice.

But proud as the Americans may be of their halls of congress, they have not, as yet, a single place of worship at all to be compared to the finer churches in Europe, where

they might render thanks to the Omnipotent Being for the unexampled happiness and prosperity with which he has blessed their country. Some not altogether unsuccessful attempts have been made in Boston and Baltimore, at what might be called a cathedral; but neither the size nor the order, nor even the materials, are resembling those of the nobler specimens of Gothic architecture in Europe.*

* Trinity Church, in Boston, is a building of pure taste and uniform architecture; and the cathedral at Baltimore enjoys the reputation of being the finest church in the country.

Our feelings and emotions are always tinged with the reflections from the objects around us; and I cannot, therefore, divest myself of 58 the opinion that a superior style of architecture in an edifice of public worship may materially assist the imagination, and enable the mind to turn from mere worldly objects to the contemplation of heaven and the adoration of God. I have known persons who could never pray so fervently as when encompassed by the sombre vaults of a gothic cathedral, and I have, myself, experienced the same feelings on similar occasions.

But in addition to the deficiency in style and ornament, there exists, in America, an almost universal practice of building churches, or at least the steeples, of wood, to which are frequently given the most grotesque figures, partaking of all orders of architecture, from the time of Noah to the present day. There is scarce an excuse for this corruption of taste, except the cheapness of the material, which may recommend the custom in practice. A church ought to be the symbol of immutability and eternity, the attributes of the Infinite Being; but nothing can be more averse to either, than its construction of so frail a material as wood. An *imitation* of stone-work is still more objectionable, as it appears like an attempt 59 at deceit; a sort of architectural counterfeiting least pardonable in a house of prayer. Such an edifice seems to be unworthy of its noble purpose; a sordid mockery of grandeur which, without elevating the mind, represents to it only the melancholy picture of human frailties.

Yet the Americans are not deficient in liberality towards their clergymen, whose pecuniary compensation is certainly generous, when compared with the moderate salaries of the first officers of state, and enables them generally to live in houses, much more tastefully built, and better furnished within, than those in which they deliver their sermons.

This is again republican, and shows the Americans to be much more attached to substance than to forms. The most essential part of divine service is assuredly performed by the clergyman, whose example and admonitions have a more salutary influence on the general morals of his congregation, than the most gorgeous cathedral, or the most moving *cantabile* of Haydn. Yet the latter have their advantages too, which, no doubt, will, at some future day, be duly appreciated in America as in Europe. In the Western States, where new settlements are 60 daily forming, it would be absurd to erect buildings, the use of which would be reserved for the third or fourth generation. The principal object, there, must necessarily be immmediate usefulness; and it is certainly better for the people to worship in a wooden church than to have no church at all.

Another cause, operating against the erecting of costly churches in the United States, is the absence of a powerful hierarchy. Churches in America are built when they are wanted, or whenever a congregation is sufficiently numerous and able to pay a preacher. With them the clergyman must be of more importance than the church, in the building of which they voluntarily tax themselves, without having recourse to the pecuniary assistance of others. This will always keep the church poor; but I doubt whether the practice, while it lasts, does not actually benefit the people; I am convinced there is as good preaching in the United States, and quite as fervent too, as in any country with a church-establishment.

Setting aside the injustice (of which Americans at least are fully persuaded) of taxing people of a different belief with the support of 61 an establishment in which they have no stake or interest, there is in an hierarchy, that which makes its members indolent and lazy. A person provided for cannot, by the rules of common sense, be supposed to work as hard as one who has to exert himself for a living, or whose services are remunerated

in proportion to their merit and usefulness. An hierarchy, from its superior organisation and discipline, may have its *political* advantages under peculiar forms of government; but I cannot see any spiritual benefit accruing from it to the people. Every member of a hierarchy is necessarily more interested in *the continuance of the establishment* , than in the discharge of his duties *toward the people.* He is paid by the establishment, of which he is either a functionary or a pensioner, and is as much concerned in its welfare as a British mariner in the safety and endurance of Greenwich Hospital, or a clerk in the solvency of his employers. In America, every clergyman may be said to do business on his own account, and under his own firm. He alone is responsible for any deficiency in the discharge of his office, as he is alone entitled to all the credit due to his exertions. He always acts as 62 principal, and is therefore more anxious and will make greater efforts to obtain popularity, than one who serves for wages. The actual stock in any one of those firms is, of course, less than the immense capital of the Church of England; but the aggregate amount of business transacted by them jointly may nevertheless be greater in the United States. The subordinate member of a hierarchy does not act on his own responsibility; he merely discharges the obligations enjoined by his superiors. It is to them he must look for advancement, as a soldier looks for promotion to his commanding officers; and a fault of discipline is more severely reprimanded than an actual injustice towards a different order. Like the soldier he has frequently an interest different from that of the people; and, like him, he is ready to turn his weapons against them whenever the establishment itself is in danger. A church establishment resembles always, more or less, a standing army. It is strong, endurable, and disciplined, but a severe tax upon the people, and nearly as dangerous an instrument for their subjugation.

The situation of an American clergyman is usually comfortable; but there are no church-livings 63 as in England; no rich prelates or other high dignitaries sufficiently wealthy to employ large sums in the building of churches. Every preacher is paid by his congregation; and there is, consequently, no accumulation of wealth on the part of the clergymen, nor a proportionate poverty on the part of those who employ them. The conditions of the

different members of the clergy are, as nearly as possible, on a level with each other and those of the private citizens; no distinction being claimed, save that which is based on superior talent and application. Hence the American churches resemble each other as the dwelling houses. They are built for use, but not for ornament; and are neither calculated to attract particular attention, nor to embellish or adorn the cities.

But what they lack in quality is more than compensated by increase of numbers; and in this consists the advantage of the system. There is no village in the United States without its church, no denomination of Christians in any city without its house of prayer, no congregation in any of the new settlements without the spiritual consolation of a pastor. Religious instruction is obtained, every where, at a comparatively 64 cheap rate, without directly taxing the people; and the enormous sums which would be required for the maintenance of an established church circulates freely in commerce and manufactures, and contributes to the general prosperity of the country.

Before I leave this subject, I ought, perhaps, to say a few words on the observation of the sabbath. No universal practice exists, in this respect, in the United States; the Northern and Western States following the example of England, or rather of Scotland, whilst the extreme south are yet adhering to their original French manner of considering Sunday as a day of amusement.* A sabbath in New England is peculiarly impressive and solemn; but, at the same time, so cheering, that I do not remember having spent in Europe, a day half so satisfactorily. It is only by contrast that the real merit of religious institutions may be duly appreciated; and especially those of the Americans.

* A notion is sufficiently prevalent in England that the Catholics alone indulge in amusements on the sabbath; but the Protestant parts of Germany, and many of Switzerland, have adopted the same practice.

The sabbath was instituted for the poor. As 65 the gospel was preached to them in order to direct their hearts to heaven, as the period of their sufferings and the reward of their

toils, so the keeping of the sabbath alleviates their bodily hardships below. Once a week, at least, the rich are to render thanks to the Almighty for the kind dispensation of His providence; but, on that day, the poor also are to rejoice in a partial exemption from labour, and even the beasts of the field are to be reclaimed from the yoke of their owners. It is the day on which all nature is to sanctify the Lord by the universal happiness of His creatures. I have always looked upon the sabbath as the most democratic feature in the whole Christian religion. On the sabbath all aristocratic distinctions of rank and fortune are to be forgotten. The powerful are to be humbled before the Lord, and the meanest of mankind exalted to a momentary equality with the highest of their fellow beings, by worshipping the Father of all in the common capacity of His children.

“The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.” Mark ii. 27.

As a religious and political institution it is alike unequalled in church or state; and, on VOL. I. F 66 this account, the Americans, and especially the people of New England, have, at an early period, directed to it the whole wisdom of their legislation.

It has been the established maxim of the “Pilgrim fathers” that the principles and doctrines of revealed religion constitute the broadest and safest basis of every rational system of liberty. No sooner, therefore, had they organised themselves into a political community than they enacted a series of laws for the strict observation of the sabbath; and although many of them were not marked by the spirit of liberality of the present age, they were, nevertheless, of incalculable advantage in practice; and did more for the preservation of the infant colony than any other provision which, at that time, they could have made for that purpose.* The religious

* Amongst the earliest laws for the observation of the sabbath were these:—

“Whoever profaneth the sabbath after admonition pays, for the first offence 5 *s.*; for the second 10 *s.*; and to be bound over to the County Court for the third. Governors of youth under seven years to suffer for them.

“Drinking and sporting on *Saturdays* after sunset, pays 5 *s.*; persons refusing to pay must suffer corporal punishment as the Court determines.

“No work to be done on the sabbath, on penalty of 10 *s.* for the first offence, to be doubled for every following one.

“To travel to a meeting, not allowed by law, is a profanation of the sabbath.

“Whoever sells drink to a person, except to a stranger in time of a lecture, pays 5 *s.*

“Constables may *search* for offenders on the Lord's days; they forfeit 10 *s.* for any neglect,” Neal' *s History of New England, London*, 1720.

67 principles inculcated at the solemn meetings of the people on that day created a unity of faith and sentiment which gave their deliberations and actions that singleness of purpose, which alone enabled them to triumph over all obstacles which the soil and the climate had placed in the way of their progress.

It cannot be objected that other religious institutions, besides the sabbath, might have been capable of producing the same salutary effect; or that religion might have been taught and practised at all times, without appointing a particular day for that purpose. An observance *generally* enjoined is more apt to be neglected and forgotten than one commanded at specified periods. A duty which we are required to perform at a certain time is always more impressive than one to which we are rendered familiar by daily usage. No legislator would entrust the safety of a state to the *habit* of its representatives F 2 68 to assemble for the purpose of enacting laws; but would specify the period on which they are to discharge their duty without fail. Besides, it is impossible to make laws capable of embracing generalities, or of binding men to certain *universal* principles of morality and religion. If a law be not enacted for a specific purpose, which it is distinctly to state, with all its bearings on those whom it is to guide, no true obedience to it can be enforced; and it can only serve to bring the legislator into contempt. A law, recommending,

in general terms, the principles of the Christian religion, would be of little more force than one enjoining all men to be good, or to abstain from evil. We are to know in what religion consists, and by what external evidence we are to judge of its being practised. No testimony, can, in this respect, be more solemn and universal than an act of public worship; and nothing more satisfactory than a repetition of it at stated periods. For this reason, it has been the practice of all nations to fix upon certain times for the exercise of their religious rites, which were considered as national distinctions, and as so many means of instilling patriotism and virtue. The history of every country is 69 intimately connected with that of its religious progress; and it is a fact not less remarkable than instructive, that the period of the greatest religious devotion of a people is always coeval with its heroic age. The sabbath of the Jews was long the rallying point of their religion, under the banners of which they accomplished all their victories, and which, while they kept it unsullied, protected them against every assailing power. With the early Christians, the observation of the Lord's day was scarcely of less moment, and became subsequently one of the characterising distinctions of the different sects. Each denomination of Christians celebrated it according to their peculiar form of worship, and availed itself of its recurrence as a means of propagating their doctrines and principles. The observation of the sabbath became associated and identified with the religion to which it gave support, and contributed powerfully to the formation of a Christian character.

When the dissenters became the object of the most unrelenting persecution in England, the sabbath became the day of their spiritual comfort. On that day they gathered strength to bear the sufferings to which they were exposed, F 3 70 and fortified themselves against the trials which awaited them in the future. This is the reason why, immediately after having effected a settlement in America, for the free exercise of their religious worship, they turned their attention to the strict observation of the sabbath. On the Lord's day the whole of their little community was assembled to implore the blessings of Providence on their infant state, alike struggling against famine and the cruelty of the Indians. With them, it was, at once, a religious, political, and social institution, creative of a kind of patriarchal

feeling for which their descendants are yet remarkable. It is to this feeling I would allude, in speaking of a New England sabbath.

Much of the original severity of religious discipline has, indeed, yielded to sentiments of greater liberality and forbearance; enough, however, is yet remaining to reflect the customs and habits of the first settlers. The sabbath is no longer a day of mere “humiliation and prayer;” but also of “thanksgiving and rejoicing;” yet partaking of all the gravity which distinguishes the character of the New Englander. Whatever change the feelings of the people may have undergone, the external forms of worship 71 are still preserved, and give to the whole a solemn dignity, which cannot but increase their respect for public worship.

Sunday is ushered in by a universal stillness on the evening of Saturday. The theatres are closed; the sound of music and of revel is alike hushed; and the members of the different families assemble and fill up the period of cessation from labour with cheerful and friendly conversation. Strangers are not usually admitted to those circles; but those who are will leave them with feelings of reverence. I was neither born in New England, nor lived there at a very early period of my life; but I can easily conceive them to beget a strong attachment to home, and to fill the mind with reminiscences which, wherever a New Englander may wander, will associate the idea of the sabbath with the happiest dreams of his childhood. On Sunday itself, the quiet and stillness of the eve continue till after the evening lecture, when a certain portion of the people relax from the severity of religious performances by joining a small party of friends and relatives, similar to that in which other families indulge on the evening of Saturday. These *réunions* are far from being marked by noise F 4 72 and merriment. No music or song is heard save the sacred compositions of the German masters, and the ruling character of the whole is happiness and peace.

In the other cities of the United States the Lord's day is observed as in England. The shops are closed; the chiming of bells invites to fore and afternoon service; the people are moving to church, to worship God, each according to the dictates of his own conscience; chains are drawn across the streets to prevent the hearers of the Word from being

disturbed by the noise of horses and vehicles; in short, everything indicates the worship of pious Christians: but the peculiar spirit of peace of a New England sabbath is wanting, and, I feel sure, is not to be found in any other part of the world. In some parts of the Southern states I have seen the sabbath kept in a manner still more rigorous than in any town of New England; yet I could not catch the inspiration which, though a stranger, educated under different influences, and in a different religion, I often felt during my long residence in Boston.

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CHAP. III.

RECEPTION OF FOREIGNERS IN THE UNITED STATES.—THE ENGLISH, SCOTCH, IRISH, GERMANS, FRENCH, ITALIANS AND SPANIARDS.—AMERICAN PREJUDICES.—THEIR ORIGIN.

When thousands of emigrants, of all nations, are annually embarking for America, with the determined purpose of making it their home, the question would naturally arise, whether, on their arrival thither, they may all expect the same welcome; and if there exist any prejudices with regard to the inhabitants of the different countries of Europe, in whose favour, or to whose detriment they are established. It might also be proper to inquire whether these prejudices are purely of a national character, in which case they would refer to the moral habits of the people; or whether they relate more to certain professions more exclusively practised by some of them, and repugnant to the feelings of Americans. In either case the inquiry would 74 be interesting and useful; as it might not only serve to put foreigners in America on their guard, but explain also a number of peculiarities in the intercourse of Americans with strangers, which, by most travellers, have been traced to a wrong source.

That the Americans have prejudices, I do not pretend to deny;—what nation is entirely free from them?—though a great number of these must be put to the account of their

ancestors; and the remainder is proportionably small, as their intercourse with foreign nations is great, and the means of information extensively diffused throughout their country. A large portion of these consist, however, in retaliations on the prejudices of others, and especially on those of the English.

The Americans are proud of having achieved their independence, proud of the moral and political progress of their country since that period, proud of the wealth and power they have acquired, and exceedingly jealous lest other nations, and particularly those whose opinions they value most, should not give them sufficient credit for wisdom, perseverance, and patriotism. The Americans cannot persuade themselves 75 that the English will ever do them justice (and it must be confessed that hitherto little justice has been done to them), and are, therefore, more frequently guilty of solecisms of deportment with regard to them than towards any other nation with whom they come in contact. A German or a Frenchman might reside for years in the United States without being struck with those traits of Americans which prove, sometimes, annoying to the English. He might, perhaps, complain of their national prejudices in other respects; but the complaint would arise from a different source, and would be similar to that which might be caused by a residence in England.—I will explain.

There exists, in America, as, perhaps, in every other civilised country, a strong prejudice in favour of the *English nation.* The Americans love and admire British thoughts and conceptions, which they have chosen for their permanent models; they entertain a high respect for British customs and laws, on which they have established their own, and cherish a proud remembrance of the achievements of that glorious people from which they are themselves descended. They allow, in many instances, the 76 superiority of the English over themselves; but they are too well informed to apply the same distinction indiscriminately to *individuals.*

An American, in his private capacity, will receive any stranger with politeness, and is always willing to distinguish individuals in proportion to their reputation and acquirements.

In the words of Mr. Hamilton, “he is quite aware of high breeding *when he sees it;* ” but he is the last ready to pay homage to any man, merely “because England has produced him.” This, however, is precisely what most Englishmen expect; and they are, therefore, often bitterly disappointed. Few English gentlemen of reputation, however, will visit America without meeting with a cordial reception, bearing witness of the prejudice which is there established *in their favour.* The Americans are, on all such occasions, anxious to make the most favourable impressions; but are, perhaps, inclined to praise and even exaggerate the advantages of their country from the known propensity of their guests to make the most liberal discount.

Many anomalies of conduct of which they are found guilty towards the English, arise from the conviction that their usual simplicity of manners 77 would be apt to be misconstrued; and that the English, accustomed to judge all people by their own conventional standard, will not make allowances for those changes which the difference of the climate, the political institutions of their country, and the early habits of the people may have rendered necessary. In such cases, therefore, they will endeavour to copy Europeans *au pied de la lettre* , and thereby furnish, themselves, the standard by which they are but too often condemned. The Americans are not often guilty of a similar error with regard to Europeans from the Continent. To them they show themselves as they are, and are even *proud* of their national peculiarities. The consequence is a greater freedom of manners, and a degree of cordiality which is seldom experienced by Englishmen. Few distinguished Germans or Frenchmen would bestow so much philosophical criticism and analysis on the manners of those who receive them with kindness and hospitality: they would find in the civil and political institutions of America enough to arrest their attention; and enjoy at least this advantage over the English, that they might converse with Americans without being taken for spies.

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Amongst the number of works which have been published, in England, on the United States of America, it is really surprising to see the quantity of space devoted to the subject

of “manners;” and this not to the manners of the people *in general* , but (with the exception of Mrs. Trollope) to those of the fashionable coteries. Is this not sufficient to justify the belief of Americans that the English are abusive critics, whose severity increases even with the obligation conferred upon them to win their good will? The Americans, in return, are guilty of another injustice; they ascribe the abusive character to the *British* NATION, when, in fact, it is the peculiar gift of *individuals* , who, dissatisfied with their own country, are travelling over the Continents of Europe and America in order to annoy themselves at leisure, and occasionally publish a book to defray a part of their expenses. Censure to them is as natural as the sting to the scorpion, and it is even dangerous to approach them by way of rendering them a service. On their way they abuse every thing that is *not* English; on their return to England, every thing that *is* English, and when they think of the future, every thing that *will* be English in 79 less than a century. We must look to the political doctrines of these gentlemen for an interpretation of their sentiments as regards society. We shall then find that their attachment to every thing claimed by age is perfectly legitimate; that they are themselves travelling antiquities, belonging to an age that is past; and that, consequently, America is much too young to merit their serious attention. Her achievements require no *herald* , though they may be sufficient for a *chronicle.*

Nothing, indeed, can be more gratuitous than the extraordinary pains which the Americans take to please foreigners, who are to give an account of their country. Tourists, especially from England, are literally loaded with civilities; and, perhaps, the more kindly received by the fashionable coteries of the large cities, as their stay is expected to be short, and their grateful returns as everlasting as paper and ink can render them. In this manner a number of individuals may hope to be introduced to the English public, whose fame, were it confined to America, could hardly be wrested from oblivion, and whose wise sayings would never be known 80 to the world, were they not quoted as valuable specimens of American sapience.

No sooner is the arrival of some English literati gazetted in America than all is bustle and confusion; and the question is seriously debated in what manner they must be received,

and what sacrifices ought to be made in order to win their good opinion. Invitations and visits crowd upon them, and they can actually find no time to observe what is truly interesting. From the time of their landing to the hour of their departure they are never left alone, and have, therefore, no opportunity of seeing America *as it is;* but as it is *shown to them.* The Americans are then *sitting for their portrait* , and, as is usual on such occasions, contort their features either in an unnatural frown, or disfigure them by an insignificant simper, ill suited to their habits of thought and reflection. Under such circumstances an accurate likeness can hardly be expected from the most accomplished artist; much less from the *pseudo dilettanti* who have lately travelled to those regions.

But the task of an English tourist is rendered doubly difficult by the inordinate adulation with which his vanity is pampered. He must imagine 81 himself really a great man when he sees the *élite* of a nation willing to pay him homage, in order to be entitled to a portion of his favour. He is made the arbiter of their political and religious dissensions, and is expected either to become the apostle of their fame, or the rigid censor of their public and private transactions. Both, the Americans and the tourist, are put in a *fausse position;* and if the former are disappointed in seeing themselves caricatured, the mortification of the latter must be equally great, when, on his return to England, he finds himself divested of his imaginary power, and his *opus magnum* levelled to an equality with the ephemeral productions of the day. The incurable wounds which he thought to inflict on the Americans are scarcely felt except by a few of those who see their hospitality so ill requited; and the great bulk of the nation is quietly progressing onward, in their happy simplicity hardly suspecting that any one has been aiming a blow at them.

That some of the writers on American society thought it in their power to injure the United States past all recovery, is sufficiently evident from the dedication of the learned author of VOL. I. G 82 “Men and Manners,” to William Wolryche Whitmore, Esq., M.P.

“But,” says our author, “when I found the institutions and experience of the United States deliberately quoted in the reformed parliament, as affording safe precedent for

British legislation, and learning that the drivellers who uttered such nonsense, instead of encountering merited derision, were listened to with patience and approbation, by men as ignorant as themselves, I certainly did feel that another work on America was yet wanted, and at once determined to undertake a task *which inferior considerations would probably have induced me to decline.* ”

Would one not be led to infer, from this dedicatory epistle, that he thought it as easy to make the quietus of a nation as to despatch a novel? The event, however, must have convinced him of his error; as it may, perhaps, persuade the Americans that justice would sooner be done to them if they were to show themselves more indifferent on trial, and less anxious to win the good opinion of their judges.

But the prejudices in favour or against Englishmen which exist amongst the fashionable coteries of the United States are not the same as 83 those which belong to the labouring classes; and the civilities with which an English gentleman is loaded, on his first arrival in America, undergo a material change from the time he intends to become a resident, or to enter into competition with the natives. He will then find, that in proportion as the *élite* recede from him, the middle classes are ready to receive him. He will find no difficulty in procuring patrons and friends, and no prejudices to debar his success, provided it be based on *individual* exertion, and not upon *national* preference.

The Americans are always ready to associate with Englishmen on terms of *equality;* they are willing to consider the English as part of their own family; but they will not pardon overweening conceit, and are most uncompromising on questions of a national complexion. The Americans, of all people in the world, are the readiest to take and resent an insult; but they are more particularly sensitive with regard to the offences of the English. If any such be given by a person of notoriety, it will be prudent for him to avoid the popular revenge. His best friends will not be able to protect him from injury, and the wisest plan for him to adopt will be G 2 84 to make a speedy reparation. I write this, particularly, for the benefit of certain actors who may visit the United States for the purpose of paying

their debts. Let them not abuse the popular favour which their talents are sure to receive; let them be guarded in their language not only on the stage, but also in their private intercourse with Americans; let them not consider the condition of any man so low as to be unable to injure them; in one word, let them keep out of the debt of the people; for the people will make themselves paid.

Nor is it always popular violence which, in such cases, is most to be dreaded. Whenever a national insult is given, the Americans of all classes unite to punish the offender. His career in the United States is blasted for ever, and he is, at once, banished from society, to which neither fortune nor cleverness will be able to procure him a second introduction. But if the Americans are, thus, severe in their punishment, they are equally generous in their reward of forbearance. Their favour is easily won, and still more easily preserved. They claim of the English but that which the English claim of every other nation in the world—a compliance with their 85 rules and customs, and a total abstinence from censure; for which, in return, they are willing to make every honest concession, and even those public acknowledgments which it would be impossible to extract from them by derision and scorn.

The customs and peculiarities of the English are not generally liked in the United States; and a settlement of several hundred of them in one place would excite considerably more jealousy than one of so many thousand Germans. The reason is this. The Germans have their peculiar habits, which, however, they are careful not to obtrude upon others. They persevere in them, not because they think them superior to those of other nations; but merely because they are used to them and do not like to quit the early companions of their childhood. This is perfectly well understood in America and, therefore, no fears entertained of their ever attempting to make proselytes. The French too, have their peculiarities; but their notion of good breeding forbids their exhibiting them wherever they might give private or public offence. Not so with the English. They *glory* in the most trifling difference between themselves and other G 3 86 nations; because they are accustomed to consider that difference *in their favour.* They obtrude it, therefore, constantly, on the notice of others, or, at least, take no pains to soften its appearance. They heed not the feelings of others,

or are so much in the habit of considering every other people inferior to themselves, that they care not, if, by chance, they give offence. In Europe they pay for this arrogance with money; in America with the loss of personal consideration.

It is true, there are ample apologies for the conduct of the English. They are really, in most respects, superior to other nations, and especially to their neighbours on the Continent. They enjoy, in the first place, a greater degree of political freedom than any other nation, save the Americans, in the world. They have produced the ablest statesmen, the wisest legislators, and (with few exceptions) the bravest and most skilful commanders of armies and navies. Their philosophers have been the glory of the human mind, and have wrested more truths from nature than all other sages combined together. They can boast of the most manly and classical literature of the moderns, and may, perhaps, add that there is not a valuable thought 87 which the human mind is capable of conceiving which is not already, and most happily expressed, in the English language. They have surpassed all other nations in the mechanic arts, and have become equally superior in every thing relating to manufactures. They have increased the facilities of commerce by the establishment of powerful colonies, and have (with probably but one exception) distinguished themselves for the humanity and justice with which they have governed them. They have carried the blessings of civilization and religion wherever they went, and established, in every clime, the glory of the British name.

But in their intercourse with Americans they ought to remember that the latter are of the same origin; that they have not only the means but also the disposition to imitate them in all that is great, and enough prudence and experience to avoid falling into the same errors. They ought to reflect that if the Americans have as yet a comparatively small catalogue of great men, these men were, nevertheless, distinguished by the most exalted virtues, and that, on the other hand, there is no black list of names to detract from their national honour. They ought to consider that America G 4 88 is the country, which, eventually

must rival even England, and that the Americans, conscious of their physical and political advantages are, perhaps, a little prone to anticipate the future.

They have already entered upon a fair competition with the English in almost every branch of human industry; and, by the universal consent of all nations, become their peers in navigation and commerce. A people, progressing with such rapid strides is not apt to bear taunts with good nature, or allow others to constitute themselves masters of ceremonies. Their progress has been one of uninterrupted prosperity, and as long as this lasts, they will consider their policy and their customs, if not superior, at least equal to those of any other nation. As republicans they love their country with an enthusiastic ardour which can only be understood and appreciated by those who have, themselves, a share in the government of their country. It is, therefore, neither wise nor expedient to treat their peculiarities with contempt, or to wound their national pride by a too rigid adherence to a set of manners, which from peculiar associations have become irritating and offensive to the people. I do not mean to say that an Englishman 89 in America must necessarily be a radical; but if he means to become a citizen (especially in the Western States) toryism will be less pardoned in him than in a native of America. He will create enemies without making himself friends; while those who are his friends will not show their friendship in public. If he should undertake any thing, the success of which depends on the favour of the public, he will hardly be able to succeed, and even in his social relations he will find himself deserted and alone.

What I have said of the English will equally apply to the Scotch, though in such matters the latter seldom need admonition; their manners and customs being already similar to those of the New Englanders. They usually succeed in whatever they undertake, and hardly ever fail to make America their home. Most of them, on their arrival in the United States, are poor but industrious; and having been emigrants before, have had sufficient instruction, in the school of adversity, to bear success or ill-fortune with equanimity and patience. They do not easily offend the prejudices of the people among whom they hope to prosper, and, in general, understand their own interests too well to require advice from others. 90 To the

acquisitiveness of the New Englanders they join the great art of saving, which is the cause of their accumulating wealth with even greater facility than native Americans; and it insures to them its quiet possession. Their sentiments are generally in accordance with those of the majority of the people, and they are, therefore, doubly certain of meeting with that sympathy and hospitality which the Americans are always ready to extend to the natives of Britain.

To sum up the argument, English and Scotch are received in America as relatives. Their younger brethren are willing to share with them the paternal estate. They love them; befriend them; assist them: in short, do everything for them which one brother can for another; but they burst into indignation at the very mention of *primogeniture* , or the least attempt to claim, by right, what they are willing to concede from kindness.

The Irish are, by the great majority of Americans, considered as an oppressed and injured people, which is sufficient to entitle them to the sympathies of freemen. It is true, the greater number of Irish who arrive in the United States are poor, and some of them tainted by the vices 91 of poverty, which, in some of the states have created a prejudice against them. But considered collectively, they constitute a highly useful part of the American community, and contribute, by their honest industry, to increase the wealth of the country. They perform the hardest labours at the lowest wages given in the United States, and are satisfied and happy to provide for themselves and their children the bare necessaries of life. But it is even their being contented with little, and their less heeding the future, which render their actions and motives less acceptable to Americans. The Americans (as I shall prove hereafter,) are living altogether for their children. They are ready to make any sacrifice for the advancement of future generations, and love their country not *as it is;* but *as it will be made* by their enterprise and industry. The Irish, on the contrary, are by habit, inclination, and the vivacity of their temperaments, inclined to enjoy the present. Their previous lives contain but the sordid catalogues of privations and distresses, and, on their emerging from the most cruel misery which ever extorted groans from a nation, they are apt—as all human creatures would be—to draw the first free breath 92 with joy and

exultation. Like Lazarus, they were accustomed to feed upon the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table; and now that they are invited to sit down, and partake themselves of the banquet, those rigid censors stand by and scoff at their greedy appetites. A man whose morning meal consisted of capon can certainly await dinner with better grace, than he who went hungry to bed and awoke to breakfast on sorrow. Cheer to him is manna distilled from heaven to support him on his way through the desert; and he is eager to snatch at a gift of which he knows not when it will again be within his grasp. Excess is the companion of poverty, and its consequences perpetuate its direful existence. Misery they drown in stupifying potions; for oblivion alone is the happiness of the damned.

These are the vices of some of those wretches who are annually thrown upon the hospitality of the Americans. And shall America, the land of political and religious freedom, cast them from her* and let them perish, while a bounteous Providence has put in her possession the most fertile regions on earth, capable of supporting thousands

* In some of the States provisions have lately been made against the importation of foreign (Irish) paupers.

93 and millions of human beings? And shall the supplications and prayers of these emigrants ascend to heaven without invoking a blessing on the children of liberty? Are their habits and their vices not to be corrected by improving their wretched condition? All human experience speaks loudly in the affirmative. Set before them the prospect of steady employment, the hope of not only earning a subsistence but something more; give their children an opportunity of education: and you will breathe into them a new vivifying principle. Occupation will prevent the commission of crimes; the influence of religion and good example will abolish the vice of intemperance, and the facilities of instruction will make respectable citizens of their children. This is not declamation. I speak of facts which I know, and to which I shall have occasion to allude in the last chapter of this volume.

The Irish in Boston are a remarkably orderly people. They are *not* usually given to intemperance; but on the contrary, willing to aid in its suppression. If the annals of prisons

and houses of correction furnish a larger number of Irish than American names; it must be remembered that, in all countries, the greatest number 94 of culprits is furnished by the poorer and the least educated classes, and that as strangers, unacquainted with the peculiar police regulations of the towns, they are more apt to trespass against the laws, and make themselves liable to punishment, than those who have been brought up under its influence, and with whom obedience to it has become a habit.

Abstract numbers are no criterion of public morals. Hundreds of crimes against God and against man are not amenable to the law, while others, arising sometimes from innocent motives, are visited by its severest penalties. During the space of nearly ten years I have lived in Boston but very few capital crimes were committed, and certainly not more than three or four considerable robberies and forgeries; but not one of them, so far as my remembrance goes, has been perpetrated or abetted by an Irishman.* Their offences consisted, principally, in disorderly conduct, and in infringing on the police regulations of the city. Theft they were rarely charged with; and, I am fully persuaded that were it not for the

* The most remarkable circumstance in all these cases is the quickness with which the offender is brought to justice, and the property restored to its owner.

95 still too pernicious influence of ardent spirits, not one half of these acts would have been committed, and no stain left on the honest reputation of even the lowest of the Irish labourers. But when we reflect upon the number of crimes committed by the poor, we ought not to forget their exposed situation; and when we praise the moral rectitude of the rich, we ought to consider the high premium which is paid to their virtue. It does not belong to man to condemn a whole nation as vicious, or to pray,—

“Lord, we thank Thee we are not as these men are;” for they too will pray, and “the prayer of the poor shall be heard,” as it is more likely to come from the heart.

“Who never ate his bread with tears, Who ne'er through nights of bitter sorrow, Sat weeping on his wretched bed; He knows ye not ye heavenly powers!”*

* Wer nie sein Brot mit Thränen ass, Wer nie durch kummervolle Nächte Auf seinem Bette weinend sass Der kennt Euch nicht, Ihr himmlischen Mächte! Göthe' *s William Meister*

But it is not so much the vices of the Irish, as their political principles, which prove sometimes 96 offensive to Americans. Some disturbances which of late arose in New York, at the election of the Governor, and in which the Irish unfortunately participated, furnished a certain party with a convenient pretext to ascribe their want of success to the destructive influence of the Irish. In consequence of this a series of resolutions were adopted to prevent their occurrence in future. The subsequent election however proved the insufficiency of the ground they had taken; for, not only did it pass without the public peace being, for one moment, disturbed; but the majority *for* the government was nearly doubled. But I shall not expatiate on this subject now, and will only remark that the Irish are naturally supposed to be in favour of democracy, having been, for centuries, the victims of the opposite doctrine.

But whatever be the character of some of the Irish emigrants on their landing in the United States, they all improve with their circumstances, and their children are found amongst the most peaceful and respectable citizens. There are Irish names in the History of America of which she must ever be proud, and which will act as mediators between the angry 97 feelings of a party, and the hospitable inclinations of a whole nation.

Let the Irish, on their arrival in the United States be, above all things, careful not to disturb the peace of the citizens, by revels of any kind; let them remember that the Americans are proud of their voluntary submission to the law, and that they cannot respect those who habitually infringe on them or are given to excess of any kind. Let them abstain from all participation in political quarrels, before they are able to form a correct opinion or to obtain sufficient information on the subject. Let them refrain from violence of any kind,

even if they should be provoked; and let them not fight or break the peace with each other. If they should happen to be wronged, let them appeal to the law; and the Americans will assuredly procure them justice; for the Americans love peace, and liberty, and justice more than any people in the world.

If there exist prejudices against the Irish, they are principally founded on their readiness to avenge their own wrongs. Let them remember that there is no occasion for it in the United States; for America never assumed more jurisdiction over them than over her own citizens; VOL. I. H 98 but, on the contrary, received them with generous hospitality, and entitled them to all the privileges of her own children. They must be aware that they remain *guests* till the period prescribed by the law shall have entitled them to the honour of citizens, and that they are, consequently, bound not to abuse the hospitality of their entertainers by disregarding their rules of society or meddling with their family dissensions.

If a dispute should arise amongst the Americans themselves, let them remain neutral, until, as naturalised citizens, they shall have become members of the same family; and even then let them imitate the forbearance and moderation of Americans. In this manner they will win golden opinions from all parties, and establish a reputation which will recross the Atlantic, and combat prejudices, which, in Europe itself, are detrimental to the progress and final emancipation of their country. They have already made a noble beginning in Boston. Let it be imitated throughout the United States—nay, let it be imitated in Ireland itself; and their worst enemies will be obliged to render them “justice.”

Few words need be said about the French in 99 the United States. Not only is emigration from France exceedingly limited, but those who do emigrate are so seldom inclined to interfere with the policy of the country that, *as a political party* (with the exception of the French Creoles in Louisiana), they are hardly forcing themselves on the notice of Americans. The French do not take an active part in politics, at least nothing to compare with the English or the Germans, and, where they cannot conform to the customs of the country, follow their own with so much modesty and so little intrusion on the established

rules of society, that their conduct is approved and commended in every part of the country.

In Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans, French society is not only numerous, but of the highest respectability: and as much may be said of the French society of New York. But in all these places, except New Orleans, they have exchanged the fashions of France for the more substantial customs of America; or at least, blended them with the English, and thereby produced a mixture which I cannot but think an improvement on social intercourse in general. H 2

100

As to the French poor who resort to America as a means of improving their condition, they are known to be remarkably peaceful and industrious. They possess the art of being contented with less than almost any other people, and their whole lives offer, sometimes, instances of the utmost frugality and continued self-denial. This applies also to the French emigrants who have seen better days in Europe. It has been my good fortune to become acquainted with some of these gentlemen, who, during the empire, had held distinguished ranks in Buonaparte's army. They were all distinguished by a peculiar meekness of demeanour, and a total absence of that acidity of temper which is but too frequently engendered by sudden reverses of fortune. When addressed on the subject of their exile, they would answer with the utmost patience, and accompany their explanations with some of those smiles of which it was difficult to determine whether they were produced by the irony of their fate or the unsuspecting simplicity of the inquirer. They evinced an entire resignation to their lot, which enabled them to enjoy life in a new form, and under different auspices, though 101 the affections of their hearts were still fastened to the beautiful land of their nativity.

Yet, with all these amiable qualities of the French, the English are generally preferred to them in almost every employment, except the teaching of their native language and other fashionable accomplishments in which they are known to excel. A Frenchman, on his

arrival in the United States, must depend more on the patronage of his own countrymen or such Americans as have visited, or resided in, France, than on a popular feeling in his favour. The Americans have inherited the prejudice from their ancestors that gravity of deportment is inseparable from solidity of character; and they cannot, therefore, persuade themselves that the French, with their fondness for public amusements, can combine those essential domestic virtues with the continuance of which they associate the welfare of their country, and the stability of their political institutions. Neither are the Americans converts to the philosophy of Rousseau and Voltaire; but are, unfortunately, in the habit of beholding in every Frenchman a true disciple of these masters.

French reasoning and French doctrines are not H 3 102 in vogue in the United States; neither is the political experience of France in very high repute with American Statesmen. If the French revolution has advanced the cause of liberty in Europe, it has had a chilling influence on the ardour of its votaries in America. It has made a portion of the Americans doubt their own sentiments; and filled even the mind of Washington with anxious apprehensions of the future. The murdered victims of the French revolution were nigh acting on the Americans as Cæsar's wounds on the Romans; and their spirits are, to this moment, haunting the Senate Chamber of the Capitol. Were it not for the awful warning of the Modern History of France, democracy in America would have met with less opposition, and would have been established quietly, without the assistance of a party.

The French, then, are looked upon with suspicion; though, in a national point of view, they are much admired and caressed. The Americans are too honest and just, not to bow to their genius; but they are slow of imitation while having the example of the British. They prefer English routine to French philosophy; and are more willing to follow a preceded than to establish 103 a new doctrine. I do not think that the French will ever make proselytes in America; though the agreeableness of their manners, and the peculiar charm of their conversation, will always insure them the most favourable reception at the drawing-rooms.

The Germans and Dutch are old settlers in the United States, and have in a measure, acquired a legitimate right to the soil. The Dutch, as is well known, have settled New York and a considerable portion of New Jersey, before the colony was conquered by the English and became the property of the Duke of York. The Germans, also, were amongst the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania, and amongst the most pious and virtuous quakers who had been converted by the preaching of William Penn.* They introduced the manufacture of paper, linen and woollen cloth† , and were, from the earliest period of the colony, amongst those who contributed most to its wealth and prosperity. Germantown was entirely founded by Germans, previous to the establishment of Philadelphia, and descendants of those settlers, or new emigrants H 4

* Proud's History of Pennsylvania.

† Ibid.

104 from Germany, are now conducting the principal manufacturing establishments in that city.

The Germans fought with the Americans in the early wars against the Indians* , and assisted them in their struggle for independence. They raised amongst themselves several regiments of militia, and shared the fatigues of Washington's army in the long war of the revolution.† The question with regard to them, therefore, is no longer whether they shall be tolerated, or what hopes they may have of success?—they are citizens; who have already succeeded. They are, moreover, possessed of political power; for, having, at an early period of their settlement, adopted the plan of remaining together, they have brought whole districts under their influence; and there are now villages in the states of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and even in the new state of Illinois, where no other language is spoken than their own.

* Proud's History of Pennsylvania.

† Botta. *Storia della guerra dell' independenza.*

Their power is derived from the possession of the soil, and the remarkable union which prevails in their sentiments. It is, indeed, a gratifying spectacle to see those Germans, who from the 105 time of Tacitus to the present day, could not unite on any uniform government of their own, rally cheerfully round the banner of the American republic, and uphold it as their guide and their law. I know that they love that republic with all the fervour with which their brethren in Europe are attached to their ideal Germany; which, as yet, exists only in song.* Neither do the Americans themselves doubt the sincerity of their attachment to their adopted country, though some may differ from them as to the manner in which it ought to be manifested. I shall give, hereafter, my views on the political character of the Germans and their influence on the government of the United States, from which it will appear that, much as it may be deprecated by one party, it is gratefully hailed by the other.

* The English know the patriotic song of Arndt, “Where is the German fatherland? Wherever the German tongue is spoken, And sings songs to God in heaven, &c. Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland? So weit die Deutsche Zunge klingt Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt,” &c.

Neither is the power of the Germans stationary; 106 but on the contrary it increases constantly in numbers and possessions. Thousands of Germans are annually emigrating to the United States; and thousands of them purchase real estates, or acquire them by persevering industry. They do not disperse and become mixed with the Americans, but increase the settlements, which are already established by their countrymen, or settle in their immediate neighbourhood. They are, therefore, in the very outset less dependent on the Americans than on their own brethren, from whom they derive the principal means of support. Their own countrymen undertake their instruction in the rules and regulations of

the country; and, being for the most part, sturdy democrats, teach them to refrain from all measures not in strict accordance with that doctrine.

Their sentiments are easily explained. The Germans, even in Europe, are more fit for a republican government than any other nation on the continent. Their habits, inclinations, morals, and, above all, their superior education, render them fit for a democratic republic. For nearly twenty-five years their efforts were directed towards a gradual improvement of their 107 social and political institutions; and amongst the most ardent partisans for improvement were three fourths of all the talent, enterprise and learning of all Germany. Were the Germans united under one government the largest standing army could not have withstood their movement. For it has communicated itself to all classes, and in part even to the army itself. There is no opposition to it except from the ignorant and vulgar; because even those whose interest it is to prevent the spreading of liberal doctrines are convinced of their moral and philosophical justice, and differ from the rest only as to the manner in which they are to be applied in practice.

Even the rulers of Germany are tacitly admitting their truth, and relent in the persecution of those who have sinned against sacred majesty. Many German princes have, at least, given a semblance of a constitution to their subjects. They have surrendered the right of arbitrary taxation, and would, perhaps, have done more, if Austria and Prussia had allowed it. But whatever the form or government in Germany may be, the abstract rights of the governed, and the sacred obligations of the rulers, were always 108 implicitly admitted. I do not remember having read an imperial decree of Austria, in which the emperor did not undertake to justify his motives to his people, in order to convince them that he is taxing them for their own good.

There is, in truth, this peculiarity in the character of Germans that they can neither act against, nor ever act except, from conviction. They are most intrepid when convinced of the rectitude of their intentions; but they are totally incapable of motion before the principle itself is established. Their strength is derived from their consciences, and not from the

degree of exaltation of which their passions are capable. Hence reform in Germany has not begun with an appeal to national glory or cupidity; but with the establishment of truths in the minds of the people. It has altogether been of an intellectual nature; but, in that sense, it has, perhaps, progressed further than in any other country. Its action has, indeed, been too much confined to education and literature; but by these means it will not less find its way to all classes; and what shall once have become the unanimous will of the nation, will be with difficulty withheld by their rulers. But the Germans 109 will, for a long time yet, abstain from positive violence, in which they have as little faith as their Saxon kindred the English. They will not pull down one edifice before they have erected another; but, like the British, prefer a “coat with many patches” to one which does not fit.

With these characteristics of the Germans we shall find no difficulty in comprehending the position they have taken in the United States. The democratic principles of the American government agreed perfectly with their notions of right, justice and humanity; and they have therefore, embraced them with the same holy faith with which their ancestors clung to the principles of the reformation. They are morally convinced of their excellence; and instead of ratiocinating and subtilizing about them, believe in them as they do in their Bible, and transmit their faith to their children. Every new comer is initiated into their creed and soon becomes a convert to it; for if he should not, they would shun him as given to idolatry. In this manner the doctrine spreads with the extent of the territory they occupy; but they never overstep their boundary or obtrude their faith on the Americans. 110 So far from preaching their doctrines to the inhabitants of other states, they are satisfied with enjoying liberty at home; and, instead of acting as a *moving principle* in the political councils of the nation, their influence is only felt by the *large masses* which they oppose to, or employ in favour of, a particular measure.

Yet with all their quietude and forbearance they have not been able to escape from sarcasm and ridicule, and the terms “high” and “low Dutch,” are applied to them in all the various significations of which they are capable. The feelings of an educated German are not very nicely touched by certain figurative expressions from the lips of ladies; such as “a

regular *Dutch* figure" (meaning the reverse of Mdlle. Taglioni); "a *Dutch* face" (somewhat quadrangular and full of listless simplicity); "a *Dutch* head," (not one of Raffaello da Urbino's; but square at the top with large bumps behind the ears, indicative of gentle resistance); "a *Dutch* mouth" (capable of holding a common-sized orange without injuring the skin); "a *Dutch* foot" (the highest American conception of magnitude and expansion); "Dutch manners" (any thing but good breeding,) &c. These epithets are 111 sometimes inadvertently used in the presence of Germans from Europe, when the mistake will be instantly repaired by assuring them that they do not apply to *them* , but to their awkward *countrymen* in Pennsylvania. The Germans, however, are far from taking these sallies in dudgeon; but on the contrary, concede to the fair satirists the most unrivalled superiority in wit, beauty, and accomplishments.

With regard to the American prejudices for, or against Germans, I can only say that some are highly favourable; but others decidedly against my countrymen. I shall begin with those in their favour. These exist principally in the Northern States, and especially, in New England. To a more limited extent they are also to be found to the south, and more particularly in South Carolina. The New Englanders and the southern planters are acquainted with German literature, and transfer a portion of their regard for that imaginary world of beauty, harmony and grandeur, the creation of German genius, to every well educated individual from that country. But while they look upon Germany as a fairy land in which one cannot wake, sleep or move, without being charmed or tormented 112 by some spirit, they are apt to consider its inhabitants as dreamers, and its philosophers as so many weavers of moonshine. A very similar opinion is sufficiently prevalent in England, even among the literati, though the conceptions of the German mind are there more highly prized and better understood than in any other country.

The cause is apparent. Few German authors, especially on metaphysics, have, as yet, been ably translated into English; and if the public are to rely on the judgment of critics, they will always be told that those works contain "moonshine" rather than "that their light is incapable of illumining the dark;" though it may be sufficient to "make darkness visible."

The Americans entertaining on most subjects of taste and learning the same feelings as the English, or taking the English for their standard, do not consider German thought and reasoning as very safe guides to “ *practical truths* ,” and bestow, therefore, but a limited confidence to professional men of that school. They are willing to give the Germans credit for general scholarship and great grasp of mind; but they will not easily trust them in a particular branch, except, perhaps, in the elementary departments of education, 113 which they think sufficiently removed from the “practical business of life” to be safely confided to their care. German theology, medicine, and jurisprudence are at a considerable discount; but philosophy is an absolute drug. If a poor emigrant from Germany, on his arrival in the United States, should possess no other marketable commodity, he may prepare to die at the alms-house; for private charity might at last become weary of supporting him. If he be not “hanged” he will at least be buried “at the State's expense.” though during his life time he may enjoy the sympathy of scholars and friends. The Americans will treat him with kindness, and show the greatest consideration for his mind and character. There will be those who will offer him pecuniary assistance; but by far the majority will be ready to confine him to a mad-house. The most prudent course for him to pursue will be to hire himself out on a farm, to make himself, in some way or other, “useful to the community.” In no other country could he be so forcibly convinced of the truth of Mephistopheles' comparison,— VOL. I. I

I tell thee, friend! a man who speculates, Is like a beast upon a barren heath, 114 For ever led in0 circles by the devil; While all around full fresh the meadows bloom.*

* Ich sag es dir: ein Kerl, der speculirt, Ist wie ein Thier, auf dürrer Heide Von einem bösen Geist im Kreis herum geführt, Und rings umher liegt schöne gruüne Weide. Göthe 's Faust.

With regard to the mechanical arts, the Germans fare hardly better. If they are not employed by one of their own countrymen, their chance of success is but small, and by no means equal to the English. Not only will they find their language an impediment, but most of their work either done better than what they have been accustomed to do

in Germany (because the American master mechanics give and obtain higher prices for labour), or forestalled by the British who excel in it, and are, therefore, certain of having the preference over all other competitors. Agriculture is the proper resort of Germans emigrating to the United States; and there are few instances in which they have not been successful. But any honest trade will succeed amongst their own countrymen, who will sooner patronise them than Americans themselves.

My advice to the German emigrants, therefore, 115 is not to remain an instant longer in any of the large sea-port towns than is absolutely necessary to make provisions for their journey westward; for every moment they tarry in the cities is a loss of time and money, and, consequently, an impediment to their ultimate success.

As cultivators of the soil they have the finest prospect before them; for no other country offers the same resources, or will so richly reward their industry. As farmers, the German emigrants have a decided advantage over all other settlers; for they find friends, relatives, and a home in three or four of the largest and most fertile states of the Union. There the German language is no obstacle to their progress; because thousands around them speak no other. They will find German papers, German churches, and German schools. Their officers of justice will be Germans; their physicians, and—if they should be so unfortunate as to need them—their lawyers. It will appear to them as if a portion of the land of their fathers had, by some magic, been transplanted to the New World. They will find the same dwellings, the same corn fields, the same orchards, and, of late, the same vines. Every object which may strike their eyes will I 2 116 revive some dream of their childhood, and increase their affection for the country of their adoption. The peace, quietude, and happiness of Germany will be unfolded to their delighted senses;—only the fore and back-ground will be indistinct—they will discover neither princes nor beggars.

It remains for me yet to say something of the reception of Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Practically there can be no prejudices against gentlemen from any country; but theoretically there exists, in the United States, as in England and all the North of

Europe, a peculiar dislike to Southerners in general, which must always be more or less injurious to individuals. The Texian war is not apt to soften these prejudices with regard to the Spaniards; nor has the late history of Italy very materially increased the respect which the English entertain for the Italians. There is something in the manners, habits and inclinations of these nations which appears to be repugnant to the feelings of the North, and there is something even in their love of liberty, which would fill an American with horror.

The number of Spaniards and Portuguese in 117 the United States is comparatively small, and is not likely to increase; as they are generally as little satisfied with the country as the people with them, and seldom resort to America, except when every other enterprise has failed. Yet there are some highly respectable Spanish families in all the sea-port towns, and a considerable number of them in the State of Louisiana. They, there, imitate the manners of the Americans; and acquiring property by honest industry, become sincerely attached to the customs and institutions of the country.

CHAP. IV.

AMERICAN THEATRES.—TRAGEDIANS.—COMIC ACTORS.—AMERICAN WIT.—MUSIC.—PAINTING.—GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE ARTS.

The Americans, as a nation, cannot be said to be very fond of theatrical performances; though nearly all the large cities of the Union are provided with one or several good play-houses. In the fitting up of these there is often displayed considerable elegance; and in New York and Philadelphia they may be said to be decorated with taste. Boston has two theatres; New York three, and an Italian Opera; Philadelphia three; Baltimore one; Washington one; Cincinati one; and the city of New Orleans, besides the English house, a very good French *Vaudeville* and *Opéra Comique.* The company of the latter quit New Orleans in the summer, and perform in all the large towns of the North; which, therefore,

in addition to the English plays, may be said to possess (for a season at least) a French comedy.

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All these establishments seem to prove that the Americans take an interest in theatres; but when we inquire into the financial operations of the managers, we must either conclude that the taste of the people is not sufficiently understood and gratified, or that the Americans have not, as yet, contracted that particular habit of amusement. Of all the theatres in the United States there is but one (in New York) which is known to have carried on a profitable business; and most of the enterprises of individuals have entirely failed.

For my own part, I do not think the fault lies so much with the managers as with the public itself. The Americans are not fond of any kind of public amusement; and are best pleased with an abundance of business. Their pleasure consists in being constantly occupied; and their evenings are either spent at home or with a few of their friends, in a manner as private as possible. The continued public excitement occasioned by their political proceedings, the extent and magnitude of national enterprise, and the constant activity which pervades all classes of society render rest and quietude much more desirable than an additional I 4 120 stimulus were it but to pleasure. The Americans are too young a people; they are yet themselves too active performers in the historical drama of their country, to take delight in contemplating the world as it is reflected from the stage. There is not yet any thing “foul in the state” to create a taste for tragedy.

Theatrical performances, moreover, are opposed to the religious doctrines of the majority of Americans, and they always interfere with their domestic arrangements and habits. Few ladies, therefore, are ever seen at the theatres, and the frequenting of them, even by gentlemen, is not considered a recommendation to their character. In several places where theatres had been established they have again been abolished by the religious influence of the clergy, and there are Christian churches in America who will not allow any of their members to be seen at a play-house.

Under these circumstances, the only harvest of an American theatre (with a few honorable exceptions at home) is the arrival of some stars from England, who have so much found their account in the journey, that of late whole constellations have travelled out of their orbits to 121 afford brother Jonathan an opportunity of improving his taste. Some of these have even published their *bright* career in the New World, and have not a little contributed, on and off the boards, to the general diversion of the public.

But this apparent success of English actors in America must not be ascribed to a taste for dramatical performances. It is then curiosity, and not a particular interest in the play, which acts as a stimulant on the Americans; and they rather go to see what pleases the English, than in order to be pleased themselves. But their curiosity being once satisfied, they soon relax into their domestic habits, and abandon the drama to the actors. The exhibition of a sagacious elephant, or a learned dog, would have afforded them a similar attraction, and of all the public exhibitions of any kind none succeeded so completely, or drew for so long period full and fashionable audiences, as that of the automaton chess-player and the “conflagration of Moscow.” But then Mr. Maelzel, who exhibited these wonders, was a very agreeable man, who with a good-natured German smile always reserved the first benches for the children, and regularly pampered them 122 with sugar-plums. There was, besides, *mechanical* ingenuity in the performance; and a *problem* to solve which is always interesting to Americans.* Of all the English actors and actresses who have visited America at different periods none have so completely succeeded as Miss Kemble; but even *her* talents and accomplishments had a fearful rival in the powerful attractions of the automaton Turk.

* The automaton chess-player was but a short time in the United States, when an American rival appeared, in every respect equal to that which was exhibited by Mr. Maelzel. The mechanism was the same, and it was exhibited in the same manner, by opening but one door of the box at a time. But Mr. Maelzel had the triumph of beating him, or rather of making him decline his challenge; the person concealed in the American

automaton being a weaker player than Mr. Schlumberger (employed by Mr. Maelzel) whose skill in the game had for many years been tested by the players of the *Café de Regence.*

It appears, then, that the Americans in some instances at least, are willing to pay for the privilege of being *spectators* , but that few of them only are ever desirous of becoming *actors;* that they are sometimes willing to be amused, but not disposed to divert others. —This might be expected from a young enterprising people, whose talents and labours are turned to a better 123 account in agriculture or commerce; and whose early habits and education are repugnant to the comparatively inactive lives of performers. Yet the Americans have produced some very good tragedians, and have amply supplied the comic department, for which they seem to have a prevalent taste.

But Jonathan's wit is essentially different from the English, and is, with very few exceptions, deficient in humour. I never saw an American attempt the broad humour of John Bull without his appearing *outré* , and unnatural; but I have hardly ever known him to fail in satire and sarcasm. Neither did I ever hear those shouts of laughter, in America, which an English comic actor is wont to draw forth from his audience at home.

The Americans do not laugh at honest bluntness, or good-natured simplicity, and are, of all people in the world, the least capable of appreciating *la bagatelle.* If Jonathan is to laugh he must have a point given him, or in other words, he must laugh to some purpose. One resemblance, however, there is between him and his brother, which consists in both being very fond of laughing at the expense of their neighbours. 124 English, French, Dutch and Germans are in turn made to suffer the stings of American wit, and the respective descendants of these nations in the United States furnish a fund of anecdote for that purpose. Accordingly the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Dutch of New York, the Creoles of New Orleans, &c., have each, their caricaturists, and are successively represented on the American stage. The western people, especially, are the objects of peculiar merriment, and among them the Kentuckians, on account of their natural boldness and simplicity, are

the most prominent. The latter, are, perhaps the only people in the United States who with great natural wit combine also a fund of humour and good nature. They are the Irish of America, at whose expense every body laughs, and, who in return, make sport of every body. The best anecdotes are told of them, and the keenest repartees are ascribed to their shrewdness. They are represented as reckless of enterprise, intrepid in danger, chivalrous of conduct, and as jolly in company as any son of the Emerald Isle. But they have this advantage over the Irish, which is manifest in their whole carriage: that their merits are acknowledged, and their peculiarities 125 (the offsprings of many manly virtues) readily excused by the more charitable feelings of their countrymen.

But the most, salient point of American wit consists in their political caricatures, which have all the poignancy of the French with the weight and substance of the English. I remember many of them which were exceedingly ingenious, and as readily seized by the people, as those of France are by the Parisians. I shall only mention one of these, illustrative of Jonathan's capacity to take off characters. Before the late amicable adjustment of the difficulties with France, a caricature was published in America, representing General Jackson shaking his cane at the King of the French, while in the left hand he was holding a bag of money, bearing the inscription “25,000,000 Francs;” with the words to his mouth “'Tis well that you paid me, or by the Eternal—” to which the king was represented bowing and waving his hands with the words “Not another word of *apology* , my dear General, I beg you.” It would perhaps be difficult to make a better comment on the conduct of either of these distinguished individuals than is contained in that print.

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Yet with all this wit the Americans do not laugh as much as either the English or the French, and indulge in sarcasm only for their private gratification, or to mortify an enemy. Owing to this peculiarity of character few English actors, in the comical department, have ever satisfied an American public, *for any length of time* , and their own countrymen, however popular, must equally despair of success.

I know no object more deserving of pity, than a comic actor on an American stage. He is always expected to say something witty; and yet, he is to give no offence to any part of his audience. His doings and sayings are to be pointed; yet in whatever direction he turns, he is sure to give offence, and to have his transgressions *visited on his head.* He is to be a politician, and yet offend no party; he is to ridicule the whims and follies of women; but not offend any of the ladies present; he is obliged to please the taste of the rich, who are best capable of rewarding his merits; but he must take care lest, by offending the poor, he may be hissed off the stage, and when too late be made to repent of his folly.

For this reason there are but few characters 127 well represented on the American stage, among which that of “a tar,” is always sure to give satisfaction. The Irish, of late, had also become very popular. But since Power's representation of that character few Americans can hope to succeed in it. Punning, therefore, is the usual resort of a comic actor in trouble. But this is a kind of wit, which, in time, is sure to produce surfeit, and requires such a variety of objects for its exercise, that it is with difficulty replenished when it is once spent upon one. The efforts, too, which a punster is constantly obliged to make to conceal the ebbs and flows of his wit are disagreeable, and deprive it of the best part of its effect. Besides, it is impossible to be always new and successful; and the disappointment produced by a bad pun, or one with which we are already familiar, is more than sufficient to over-balance the pleasure which we receive from one that is pointed and original. We can see a good character represented an hundred times, and still be pleased by the performance; but it would be difficult to listen to a repetition of puns without feelings of perfect disgust.

In music the Americans seem to succeed 128 better than in tragedy or comedy; and the establishment of an Italian Opera in New York, on a scale which would do credit to any capital in Europe, shows at least the willingness of a certain portion of the people to contribute largely to the cultivation of that taste. The Italian Opera-house in the city of New York, was built in a very costly style; singers were procured from Italy at a great expense,

and the orchestra filled with skilful performers from France and Germany. The company left nothing undone which could gratify the public; but unfortunately the prices of boxes and the pit were very high (just double of what they were in the other theatres) and the entertainments not sufficiently varied to please the American palate. The undertaking, therefore, proved a failure, and involved its projectors in considerable loss. The principal cause of this ill success must have been the language, to which the by far greater part of the audience were total strangers; and which to brother Jonathan is, after all, not half as sonorous as the King's English.

But of whatever depravity of taste the lower classes of Americans and English may be judged 129 guilty (for I believe John Bull is in this respect not a whit better than his brother), I maintain that their relish of what they are able to *understand* is far from being discreditable to their good sense, and is at least as valuable as the spurious refinement of those distinguished admirers of the opera, who frequent it only because it is a fashionable entertainment. Music, it is true, does not address itself directly to the understanding; but affects it indirectly through the feelings; yet I do not see how the understanding can be made judge of it at all, without the medium of language. I am aware there are those who believe that the understanding has nothing to do with it, and that harmony and melody are productive of a sort of agreeable sensation in the ear, similar to that which a cat may feel when its ears are scratched.

But there are others who opine—and probably with more justice—that music has the power of indicating the particular tone of our feelings, and of causing them to sympathise with those of the composer. They maintain that an opera is but a musical drama in which melody and harmony take the place of declamation, and that its excellency, therefore, must be judged by the VOL. I. K 130 perfect agreement between the music and the text. On this account they are apt to admire the compositions of Mozart and Beethoven, and prefer them by far to the brilliant works of Rossini and Bellini. They claim of an overture that it shall be a proper *introduction* to an opera, by preparing the feelings of the audience for the dramatic action which is to follow, and to which it ought to be the index. For this

reason they extol the overtures to “Don Juan” and “Fidelio,” and criticise those of the “Gazza ladra” and “Tancredi” as being little adapted to their respective subjects. They can see no miracle in Mozart's composing the overture to “Don Juan” within an hour of the time of its first performance; because it was merely writing the index to a work, which, as the author, he must have known by heart. Neither do they wonder at the musicians' performing it *prima vista;* because, having rehearsed the opera, they must have been familiar with the theme. Our modern composers and performers, they pretend, would be reduced to a greater stress were they ever placed in similar circumstances.

These doctrines, it must be allowed, contain a tolerable apology for the simple taste of Americans 131 in not patronising the Italian opera. If the perfection of an opera consists in the mutual agreement between the text and the music, the good people of New York lost at least one half of the entertainment by not understanding the language, and were obliged to pay for the remaining half double of what they were accustomed to pay for a whole night's amusement at another theatre. The ratio was as one to four when compared to the other plays, and was consequently too unreasonable to satisfy such nice calculators as the Americans.

A beautiful song of which we understand neither the words nor the meaning, can, after all, produce little more satisfaction than original iambics to a person unacquainted with Greek. He might be pleased with the measures and the harmony; but he could not appreciate their adaptation to the subject of the poem. Whatever opinions men of fashion may entertain on this subject, I shall always believe that there is no more charity in condemning a man's taste for music, because he does not join in the common-place admiration of Italian operas, than in denying his taste for literature, because he is not delighted with K 2 132 the original text of an author of whom he does not understand the language.

But it must not be inferred that because the Americans have not patronised the Italian opera, they are utterly insensible to music. They are, on the contrary, passionately fond of it; but gratify their taste in a manner much more substantial and profitable. They like to

become musicians themselves, and prefer paying for tuition to a master, to encouraging the art in others.

Most of the Italian and German performers who, at first, gave concerts in the United States, were finally induced to become teachers, and in the latter capacity, have not only been able to maintain themselves, but have laid up something for the future. The success of the instructors can only be ascribed to the readiness of the pupils to improve; which, in turn, bespeaks a prevalent taste for the accomplishment.

Neither are the Americans behindhand in supporting operas performed in English; and the names of the best German, Italian and French composers have, in this manner, become as familiar to American ears as they are to any *dilettanti* of Europe. “Der Freisch#tz,” “The Barber of Seville,” “The White Lady,” “Fra 133 Diavolo,” and “Gustavus,” have all had their run on the American stage, and it may even be observed that Madame Malibran was first brought into notice by the encouraging plaudits of an American audience.*

* I am aware that Madame Malibran first sung in England; but she was then not so much applauded as subsequently in America.

The general predilection, however, is in favour of sacred music; and there exist, in most of the large cities of the United States, societies for its cultivation and encouragement. Among these the “Händel and Haydn Society” of Boston, and the “Musical Fund Society” of Philadelphia, are most deserving of notice, as they are both extremely well organised, and directed by able and scientific leaders. The latter, especially, ranks amongst its members not only a great number of German and French *amateurs* , but also a very respectable body of professors, whose talents are called into active exercise by frequent concerts and oratorios, and by the liberal prizes which the society annually offers for the best compositions in the various departments of the art.

One fact, however, is most remarkable in K 3 134 the “Händel and Haydn Society” of Boston, which consists in most of its members being mechanics, cultivating music for no

other purpose than because they are really fond of it, and wish to introduce it into their churches. Vocal music, therefore, is their principal object, and the choruses the best part of their oratorios. The taste is certainly laudable, and the more so as it is peculiar to a class of men which are unjustly supposed to be incapable of refinement.

It is quite a curious spectacle to see the sacred compositions of the old German masters revived and studied by a company of unassuming workmen in the New World, while, in Germany, it would be difficult to procure a genteel audience for either, as long as Lanner and Strauss set the whole population on waltzing. The much admired sensibility of the Germans seems, by some sad perversion, to have betaken itself to their heels, where it is now productive of such vehement revolutions as are scarcely equalled by the wheels of a locomotive. Even the classical operas of Mozart are gradually withdrawing from the German stage to go begging in England; and I am certainly not exaggerating the case when I state it as my candid opinion 135 that the best compositions of Mozart and Beethoven are becoming more familiar to English and American ears, than to the greater portion of their own countrymen.

I have already alluded to the parlour-amusement in the United States which consists principally in vocal and instrumental music. The performers on such occasions are usually ladies; the gentlemen's accomplishments in the arts being commonly confined to the flute. I do not remember having heard a single amateur performer on the violin during my whole residence in the United States. The ladies who are able to devote a much longer time to their education, are, in this respect, vastly superior to the gentlemen, and perform often exceedingly well on the piano, the guitar and the harpsichord. Those of Philadelphia and Baltimore are most accomplished in the art, as they are not only more assiduous in its cultivation, but enjoy the advantage of the best German instructors. Their being, in part, descended from Germans may also contribute to their predilection in favour of “concord of sweet sounds,” which taste is any thing hut diminished by a southern latitude.

On the whole, I should judge the musical K 4 136 talents of Americans superior to those of the English, especially in the middle and southern States, where they have been constantly improving by emigrants from the continent of Europe. The English will *hear* the best music as long as they are willing to *pay for it;* but the Americans will soon be able *to make it themselves.* The English will always remain great consumers of musical talent; but the Americans will produce it.

No transition seems to be more natural than that from music to painting; and it will be proper, therefore, to offer a few remarks also on that subject. As far as I am able to ascertain, there is, in America, no deficiency of talent either for drawing or painting; but there is little or nothing done for their encouragement. The education of an American artist, with the only exception of a few, not very competent drawing-masters, is altogether left to himself, and to the chance he may have of visiting Europe and studying the old masters. There exists, as yet, no public gallery in any of the large cities of the United States, to which a young painter could have free access, or where his taste might be formed. There is not even a school for painting, 137 or any other public institution of a more elevated nature, to foster or develop talents of this kind; and yet the Americans have produced some very eminent painters, amongst whom it will suffice to mention the names of Stewart and West. The former was one of the best portrait painters of the age, and the latter is too well known in England to need further comment. Mr. Alston of Cambridge, New England, has by dint of genius, become an historical painter of vast poetic conceptions; and Mr. Harding has, from a soldier and a chair-painter, with no other assistance than his own energetic mind, become one of the most successful portrait painters of America. He went to England, to learn and improve his native talents; but met with such encouragement that he was not only able to pursue his main design, but also to lay the foundation to his subsequent independence.

Where talent forces its way through such obstacles, and triumphs at last over all difficulties in the way of its progress, it must be genuine, and warrant the conclusion that, with a

little more encouragement on the part of the people, and some appropriate institutions for the education of artists, the Americans might be made to 138 compete with Europe also in this department. It has been observed, frequently, by French and German writers that the United States of America, could, with difficulty, be made the successful sphere of an historical painter. This may be true for at least the next fifty years, but then, I would ask in what part of *Europe* , his talents would now meet with adequate acknowledgment? Where are the historical painters in Europe, who, in this age of political and *mechanical* improvement, could be sure of not dying the death of starvation?

With the exception of the court of Bavaria, there is no royal favour extended to these victims of a more sanctified taste; though their works and their fame might live to all eternity. The encouragement, which, by persons of rank and distinction, is given to this branch of the art is almost wholly confined to purchasing a few works of the old masters for a gallery. This is a kind of gratification in which a patron of the arts will always more readily indulge, than in encouraging a *growing* talent. A fine gallery is constantly admired by all, and reflects on the good taste of the owner; but the money laid 139 out on an artist is not always sure of bearing interest or of pampering his patron's vanity.

Neither are the performances of the present schools more than a feeble reflection of the glory of former days. Neither the feelings, nor the imagination, nor the taste of our modern artists resemble those of the old masters inspired by a holy faith and fraught with religious devotion. They are no longer personations of the Divinity itself; but at best but tolerable copies of prosaic originals, or of the world as it appears to our senses; unadorned by what Goethe would call “the glorification of the Italian painters.” The mysticism of catholic worship as it existed in the middle ages, and the spiritualism of those ages, gave to the genius of the artist a noble direction, and imprinted on his works a peculiar dignity of character for which they will ever be distinguished.

This applies equally to the specimens of architecture which remain of that period. They all bear the historical characteristics of their age, and represent to us,—if I am permitted the

expression,— *ideas* rather than *objects* to delight our senses: the conception is in all of them superior to the form by which it is expressed; and the peculiarities of the artist's mind lost in the grandeur 140 of his subject. In this I believe consists the true superiority of the ancient over the modern schools; but it is a superiority which belongs to its age more than to the individuals who flourished in it, and cannot, therefore, be reproduced by the most strenuous efforts of our contemporaries.

Our present artists move in a narrower sphere. Their province does not extend beyond the borders of humanity; and their conceptions, therefore, must be of a lower cast. They may picture to us man in his most perfect form; but beyond this, their imagination will not easily soar, and in beholding their works we are irresistibly chained to the earth. They may still have the power of giving us pleasure; but they lack the nobility of conception and the divine spirit which presides over the works of the old masters.

Neither are our modern worshippers of the art any longer imbued with the same spirit which characterised the people of the middle ages. Ours is the age of demonstrative philosophy, the most totally opposed to the gentle sympathies of a believing mind. Our understandings have become accustomed to seize abstract forms and ideas, established by a process of reasoning, 141 rather than to be led to a generous belief by the beauty and harmony of nature. In proportion as we have trusted our understanding, our feelings have lost the power of guiding us; and our imagination has become dull and obscure.

Hence, instead of representing angels, genii, and saints to our turbid imaginations, our modern artists entertain us with subjects more on a level with ourselves; and what can be more so than the *portrait* of a friend, or of our own perfections. Portrait painting has become the chief branch of the art to which all others are not only accessary and subordinate, but without which no other can now please or succeed.

The artist, therefore, has no longer the choice of his subject; but exhausts his talent, as he may be employed and directed; and instead of following his own imagination and genius,

is obliged to conform to the peculiar taste of his patrons. The art, it is true, has become more popular; but with the greater number of its votaries, its former sanctity is lost. It gives more universal pleasure; but is less capable of affecting individuals; and instead of entertaining them with subjects above them, is obliged to descend to their level.

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This is the reason why portrait painting has become so universally popular. We hardly become tired to look at ourselves in a glass which, moreover, reflects our image without flattery, and exhibits to us daily the visible marks of time and decay: how much more, then, must we be pleased with a portrait, which is not subject to decrepitude, and represents us always under the most favourable combination of light and attitude? The foible is pardonable, and flatters our vanity. What after all can be more satisfactory to a man of *taste* than to leave to the world some traces of his ephemeral existence?—to be immortalised by a favourite of the muses, and hung up in a gallery amongst a whole heaven of gods and goddesses?—to carry the sweet consolation to the grave that his picture, after generations shall have past, may yet be more valuable than the original? If he wear an uniform, a mitre, or some other decoration to distinguish himself from the rest of mankind, nothing but a *touch of the brush* will be required to transmit his merits, *in the brightest colours* , to an admiring posterity; and if his name be not inscribed on *marble* , he may at least cherish a hope that some of his friends will have it 143 engraved on *steel* “from an original picture of Sir Thomas Lawrence.”

Our feelings have grown too egotistical even to *understand* the works of the old masters; much less to imitate them. Amongst the hundreds who annually visit Rome and Florence for the laudable purpose of improving their tastes there is scarcely one whose mind is tuned in unison with their spirit, to comprehend the vastness of their designs, or to perceive the divine attributes of truth and eternity which are every where imprinted on their poetic personages. But without sympathising with the masters of the old school, we shall in vain attempt to catch the inspiration of their works. Let us analyze them as we may, let us descend to the minutest details; the soul will not be found in any particular part of the

body; but will for ever escape our anatomical investigation. It is of too sublime a nature to cling to so rude an instrument as the knife of a modern dissector. The old painters are doomed to the fate of the classics, an acquaintance with which is indispensable to erudition; but whose works are no longer understood without a commentary. They may still be the object of universal admiration; 144 but inspire no longer those electric feelings which prompted the ancients to deeds of heroic valor.

If this is the fate of the masters exalted in the opinions of mankind, what can be the prospects of a beginner? Which way is a young artist to turn to keep his heart and his mind uninfluenced by the growing egotism of the world? Where are the awful mysteries of religion, and the enchantments of a spiritual world to fecundate his imagination, and to preserve it pure in an age of unbelief and material philosophy? Cause and effect of real greatness in the arts are alike vanishing from the present generation; and the lofty pupil of the divine masters degenerates into a sordid copyist of his patron's pimples.

The great advantage, then, which Europe possesses over America, with regard to the fine arts, are the numerous collections of paintings and statuary treasured up in her churches and galleries. These will probably remain for ever unequalled not only by Americans, but also by European artists of all times. They are now more the objects of pride and vanity in their owners, than of real veneration for the genius of their authors.

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Ours is an age of science, and not of the arts. The eternal truths “of nature and of nature's God,” which it is the province of the fine arts to reveal in forms, are no longer the objects of pious mysticism, but of philosophical discussion and mathematical demonstration. The present age cannot be affected by what they are unable to *understand* , and not convinced, except by a process of reasoning. Hence the progress of the exact sciences and their accessories,—and the visible decline of poetry and the arts. The aggregate of human knowledge is increased, and the condition of man improved beyond all comparison; but the more delicate feelings of our hearts have become blunted, and

the sacred awe of the spiritual world changed into a self-sufficient complacency at the subjugation of inanimate nature.

In proportion as the understanding and the judgment are cultivated, the imagination must suffer or be checked in its progress, and, with it, the arts to which it gives life. The more accurately a thing is defined, the less room is left to the imagination to enlarge upon it; and the mind once accustomed to the rigour of mathematical VOL. I. L 146 demonstration, is not apt to lose itself in the boundless regions of fancy. Judgment, too, partakes always of the nature of criticism. It is an analytical process of the mind, which consists rather in dissecting and destroying, than in uniting different objects to an harmonious whole.* In every work of art, on the contrary, the unity of all the parts—the totality of the impression—is the principal object to which all others must be subordinate. The genius of the artist is creative, and his conceptions are at once a complete and perfect whole; the province of science is the universe, and the means of exploring it a finite intelligence. The man of science, therefore, can only combine what exists; but in no instance is he able to add, create or improve on a single object in nature. Step by step is nature to be conquered; each new idea must give birth to another, and it is only by their combination that the truth is finally revealed. But the characteristic of science is certainty, and its reward consciousness of power. Its applications are universal, and contribute everywhere to the amelioration of conditions.

* Locke on the Human Understanding.

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The arts may flourish in a despotic country; but the light of science cannot be diffused amongst a people without raising them above the condition of slaves. The arts may be employed for mean and sordid purposes; but science always ennobles human nature, and is of all pursuits the most calculated to secure permanent happiness. Monarchs may patronise the arts; republics must encourage the sciences.

In proportion as the sciences advanced, the arts deteriorated; but it was not until the decline of the latter, that America rose into an independent existence. The period in the history of Europe, advantageous to the cultivation of the arts, was passed: the very settlement of the United States was owing to protestantism in religion and politics. There were no monuments of Rome and Greece to awaken a taste for the arts; and the wild dramas of the Indian wars called for energies and talents different from those which play in the lap of the Muses.

Hardly had America escaped from destruction at home, and oppression from abroad, before the French revolution began to convulse the whole world with its doctrines and victories. America was again forced into a war, and it is scarcely L 2 148 twenty years since she has enjoyed unmolested tranquillity. But what period is this for a nation in its history of the fine arts? And what has been the *progress* of the arts during that period in Europe? Let the question be presented in this light, and its inevitable answer must be that compared to former times, they have, in Europe, deteriorated, while, in America they have certainly progressed, notwithstanding the almost total want of encouragement of artists in the United States.

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CHAP. V.

AMERICAN LITERATURE.—ITS RELATION TO THE ENGLISH.—PERIODICALS. —DAILY PRESS.—CITY AND COUNTRY PAPERS.—THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE POLITICAL PROSPECTS OF THE NATION.

“ The termination of the Revolutionary War,” says the learned author of “Men and Manners,” “left the United States with a population graduating in civilization from slaves to planters. The scale went low enough, but unfortunately not very high. The great mass of the white population, especially in the Northern States, were by no means deficient in such education, *as was suited to their circumstances.* In a country in which abject poverty

was happily a stranger, there existed few obstacles to the general diffusion of elementary instruction. But between the amount of acquirement of the richer and poorer classes little disparity existed. Where the necessity of labour was imposed on all, it was not probable that any demand should exist for learning not immediately connected with the business of life. *To the grower of indigo and L 3 150 tobacco, to the feller of timber, or the retailer of cutlery and dry goods, the refinements of literature were necessarily unknown.* In her whole population America did not number a *single* scholar in the higher acceptation of the term, and had every book in her whole territory been contributed to form a national library, it would not have afforded the materials from which a scholar could be framed."

"In short, the state of American society is such as to afford no leisure for any thing so unmarketable as abstract knowledge.—For the pursuit of such studies, it is necessary that the proficient 'should fit audience find, though few.' He must be able to calculate on sympathy at least, if not encouragement; and assuredly he would find neither in the United States."

"I am aware, it will be urged that the state of things I have described is merely transient, and that when population shall have become more dense, and increased competition shall have rendered commerce and agriculture less lucrative, the pursuits of science and literature will engross their due proportion of the national 151 talent. I hope it may be so; but yet it cannot be disguised that hitherto there has been no visible approximation towards such a condition of society. *In the present generation of Americans I can detect no symptoms of improving taste, or increasing elevation of intellect.* On the contrary, the fact has been irresistibly forced on my conviction that they are altogether inferior to those, whose place, in the course of nature, they are soon destined to occupy. Compared with their fathers, I have no hesitation in pronouncing the younger portion of the higher classes to be less liberal, less enlightened, less observant of the proprieties of life, and certainly far less pleasing in manners and deportment."

Thus ends his discussion on American literature and education, in which not a single author or work is named, to corroborate his statements, and which it would be impossible to recognise as bearing on literature at all, if the reader were not good-naturedly informed of it by the running title of the book. Every assertion it contains is purely gratuitous* , and but the echo of his own L 4

* Except perhaps, his observation on the *manners* of the young men of the " *higher classes.*" But in America the offspring of the higher classes are usually not only inferior to their progenitors; but, in the greater number of instances, also to the children of the inferior orders. The most active and enterprising merchants of Boston and New York are not sons of rich men. Neither were the names of the most distinguished American statesmen known in the *fashionable* circles, before their fame had connected them with the history of their country. Genius is seldom hereditary; and in a country where every man advances by his own talents and energies, we need be as little astonished to see the son of a rich man inferior to his father, as to behold the offspring of poor parents rise to consideration and dignity.

152 feelings and prejudices. Surely the learned author furnishes a powerful illustration of the quantity of philosophy a man may gather from travelling, and how the inmost thoughts and springs of action of a nation may be discovered from the top of a stage coach. There is nothing so easy as for a man who has either from disposition or habit, taken a strong dislike to republican institutions, to declaim, *in general terms* , on their pernicious influence on science and literature; but if he attempt to state facts with which he is only acquainted from hear-say, he will assuredly betray the particular tone of his sentiments, or be guilty of misrepresentations.

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America, at the close of the revolutionary war, *did* number amongst its population, not only scholars, but men of the purest and loftiest genius.—Franklin and Thomas Jefferson would have immortalized themselves by their writings and reasonings, even if neither of them

had ever risen above the political horizon of his country. The theory of electricity of the former would, alone, have sufficed to mark him as one of the most logical intellects which ever graced science, and would have transmitted his fame to the latest posterity. America could boast of orators like James Otis and Patrick Henry* , and exhibited the virtue of her legislators in the framing of her constitution. John Edwards, William Douglas and William Bartram had distinguished themselves by their writings; and the latter, a quaker of Pennsylvania, was pronounced by Linnæus to be “the greatest natural botanist in the world.” Thomas Godfray of Philadelphia was the inventor of the invaluable instrument to navigators which, afterwards, by a misnomer, was called “Hadley's Quadrant.;”

* “Henry, the forest-born Demosthenes, Whose thunder shook the Philip of the seas.” Byron.

154 David Rittenhouse invented a new method of fluxions; and Timothy Cutler, Elisha Williams and Thomas Clap of Yale College were celebrated for their knowledge of classical literature.* In 1761 the transit of Venus was observed from the coast of Newfoundland (the most westerly part of the world from which the conclusion could be seen) by Professor Winthrop of Harvard College; who acquitted himself of the task in the most able manner; and had his expenses defrayed by the general court of Massachusetts.† This undoubtedly proves that “to the grower of indigo and tobacco, to the feller of timber, and the retailer of cutlery and dry goods, the refinements of literature were necessarily unknown.”

* Grahame's History of the United States.

† Ibid.

Mr. Hamilton attributes the infant state of literature in the United States to the state of society, and especially, to their republican form of government. Let us see how far his conclusions are borne out by history? Let us inquire how much England has done for

the mental emancipation of her colonies; and whether 155 the arts and sciences have received a check or an impulse, by the declaration of independence?

We find Britain, in the earliest stage of her American colonies, desirous of governing them not only by superior physical power, but also by a preponderance of intellect. Commerce and literature were alike monopolised by England, whose interest it was to keep America dependent on British manufacture and science. This state of servitude, the most degrading which ever existed in any country, was enforced by the most rigorous laws; and the privilege of printing and publishing books, was, by the very charter, refused to some of the colonies.

The encouragement which American gentlemen of science and literature had to expect from England, was most happily illustrated by the conduct of William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, who refused to commune personally with Dr. Franklin; but sent him word through one of his under secretaries “that he thought him a *respectable* man.”* Franklin was then at the zenith of his scientific and political renown;

* Grahame's History of the United States.

156 and if he received such flattering testimonies of his “respectability” from men, favourable to the cause of America, what could he and his colleagues hope for from the jealousy, of their political opponents?

The only literary institution aided by royalty, in America, during the space of two centuries was the college of “William and Mary” in Virginia, to which a donation was made by the King and Queen, more for political and religious purposes however, than for the actual promotion of learning. When Dean Berkeley (afterwards Bishop of Cloyne) went to America to establish a seminary of learning, the House of Commons voted the sum of 200,000 *l.* for that purpose; but this sum was never paid, and afterwards voted in aid of the colony of Georgia, a kind of military establishment, for the protection of the frontiers of South Carolina. Gibson, bishop of London, after repeatedly pressing the subject on

Walpole, obtained finally the following unceremonious answer: “If you put this question to me as a Minister, I must and can assure you that the money shall undoubtedly be paid, *as soon as the public convenience will allow;* but if you ask me as a friend whether Dean Berkeley should continue 157 in America expecting the payment of the 20,000 *l.* , I advise him, by all means, to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations.”

The attorney-general expressed himself in still plainer terms. For, when the agent of the colonies applied to him for his sanction to have a patent sealed confirming the grant of the 20,000 *l.* under the religious plea, that it was for the benefit of the souls of the colonists, he merely replied laconically, “Never mind their souls”—or some such expression—“let them plant tobacco.”

Governor Johnston, of North Carolina (the first royal governor after the surrender of the proprietary Charter,) levied, it is true, taxes for the purpose of founding schools; but unfortunately employed the money so raised for other purposes. No sooner, however, was the declaration of independance acknowledged by Great Britain, than the Assembly of North Carolina “ *aware of the bonds which connect knowledge with liberty, and ignorance with despotism* ,” founded a seminary of learning in that province. Yale, and Princeton colleges were established by the munificence of the people, without the assistance of the British government, or of royal bounty. Harvard College 158 was established by the Puritan fathers only ten years after their first settlement in America; but never enjoyed the academical privileges of similar institutions in England; though many laws were enacted, for that purpose, by the provincial legislature of Massachusetts, which were all disallowed by the British parliament, bent upon protracting the period of America's mental and national pupillarity. The editors and authors of periodicals were thrown into prison, and until 1730 a strict censorship established in New England, the most literary of all the colonies.

“No encouragement,” says Grahame, “seems ever to have been given by the English government to the cultivation of science and literature in the American provinces, except in

the solitary instance of a donation of William and Mary in aid of the college which took its name from them in Virginia. The policy adopted by the parent state in this respect is very directly indicated by one of the royal governors in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

‘As to the college erected in Virginia,’ says the officer, ‘and other designs of the like nature, which have been proposed for the encouragement 159 of learning, it is only to be observed in general, that *although great advantages may accrue to the mother state both from the labours and luxuries of its plantations* , yet *they will probably be mistaken who imagine that the advancement of literature, and the improvement of arts and sciences in our American colonies, can be of any service to the British state.* ’

“We have already seen the instructions,” continues Grahame, “that were given to the royal governors by the English court, both prior and subsequent to the revolution of 1688, *to restrain the exercise of printing* within their jurisdiction. Many laws were enacted, in New England after that event, for enlarging the literary privileges and honours of Harvard university, which were all disallowed by the British government.”

With what justice, therefore, does our modern tourist, after expounding on venison and Madeira—for the learned author of “Men and Manners” treats very fully on these subjects—obtrude his remarks on American literature and science at that period?—and this to prove that liberal governments are necessarily opposed to their progress?

Again, Mr. Hamilton assures his readers that 160 in the present generation of Americans “he can discover *no symptoms of improving taste* , or increasing elevation of intellect.” On the contrary the fact has been irresistibly forced on his conviction “that they are altogether inferior to those whose place, in the course of nature, they are soon destined to occupy.” By what *facts* does he establish this gratuitous assertion? Have the Americans, since the revolutionary war, produced no men of Science known in Europe? no writer of note whose works have been republished in England and on the Continent? One single fact will answer these questions better than all speculations on the subject.

The “American Booksellers' Advertiser” notices the following different publications during the year 1835, exclusive of pamphlets, periodicals and new editions. (The first column contains the number of original American publications; the second the number of republications of foreign works; and the third the sum total of both.)

161 Subjects. American. Foreign. Total. Biographies 19 11 30 History 4 8 12 Travels by Sea and Land 12 11 23 Statistics and Commerce 9 2 11 Theology 20 22 42 Religious and Domestic duties 15 15 30 Miscellaneous 24 10 34 Almanacks 10 — 10 Ethics and Politics 5 3 8 Law 9 3 12 Medicine and Surgery 6 5 11 Arts and Sciences 15 8 23 Novels and Tales 31 33 64 Poetry 7 12 19 Education 60 15 75 Juvenile 22 17 39 268 175 443

Making in all 443 works or 547 vols. Allowing each edition to consist only of 1000 copies, the number of volumes printed amounted last year (1835) to 547,000; exclusive of pamphlets, periodicals and new editions.

We remark here the great increase of original publications, instead of the diminution which struck the learned author of “Men and Manners.”

In 1833, there were published, in the United States, one third more foreign than original works; but in 1835 the ratio had already increased in favour of the former. A German VOL. I. M 162 writer* observes that this is a strong proof that the United States are about to form their own literature, especially as regards the solid and useful branches of education. These publications show better than all reasoning that in America an author may at least “fit audience find,” and that he may calculate on the sympathy and encouragement of the public; else the enterprising spirit of the Americans would not be engaged in publishing and republishing books.

* In the journal entitled “Das Ausland.”

But Mr. Hamilton says in another part of his work that literature in the United States is a *disgrace* , and that he heard the term “literary gentleman,” applied, in Washington, in the most taunting manner, to one of the representatives. This was a gross misunderstanding

on his part. All parties in the United States—those *in* and those *out* of power—are proud of the literary achievements of their champions; but they are alike averse to mere *rhetorical flourishes.* The term “literary,” is sometimes applied ironically to a politician, in contra-distinction to *practical good sense;* which, indeed, was the case when Mr. Hamilton heard it pronounced on the floor of Congress; but then the distinction is not so 163 absurd as he imagines; there being more than one “literary gentleman” to whom it will happily apply.

Once more I would ask whether the writings of Hillhouse, of Bryant, Percival, Paulding, and above all, of Washington Irving and Fennymore Cooper are so little known in England and Europe generally, as to entitle the learned author of “Men and Manners,” to the conclusion that America will never enjoy a state of society favourable to literature?

What was the literary and scientific condition of America at the time of her emancipation? —and what is it now? Have no improvements been made in the system of education? Is there any branch of literature in which the Americans do not, at least, enter into competition with Europe, from the most abstruse science of mathematical analysis down to the “woful ballad” and the “flower-garden of epigrams and sonnets?”

It may perhaps be observed, that in all these branches the Americans are as yet the imitators of Europe. Granted. But what are fifty years in the history of a nation's literature, or in the scientific developement of a people yet combating against nature and the savages? Only a small M 2 164 portion of the inhabitants of the United States are as yet permanently settled, the rest are nomades, or lead the lives of conquerors. Yet these wandering tribes know the value of literature and science, and wherever they go establish schools and seminaries of learning. All other nations have conquered by the sword, and their traces were marked by ruin and desolation: America alone vanquishes her foes by civilisation, and marks her course by moral and religious improvements. There is poetry in her national developement, and the settlements of her early colonists. Poetry is so much diffused throughout nature, and so intimately connected with man, that there is hardly an object, or an historical fact, incapable of inspiring its sentiments. There is poetry in

light, colour, sound, form, and even in numbers. The creation and redemption of man is the most sublime and God-like poetry recorded in the Bible. Newton, by his optics, has become the philosopher and poet of light; Mozart and Chladni sang, the one from inspiration, the other by philosophical combination, the praises of music; and the Greeks have given us the most perfect models of the poetry of forms. The gigantic ante-diluvian drama, with its volcanos, 165 and earthquakes, and floods, involving all creation in a general wreck, has found its poet in Cuvier; but the sublimity of his conceptions consists in numbers.* The spiritualism of the middle ages, and the holy inspiration of the followers of Christ are the subject of Walter Scott's poetry; and the military enthusiasm of imperical France, and its tragical end, have begot the plaintive strains of Lamartine. The colonisation of New England by the pilgrim fathers; their mainly assertion of liberty, and the sacrifice of all that is dear to mankind for the very theory of freedom, is one of the most poetical, and noble spectacles which the world ever witnesed. The struggle of a young and uncorrupt race against the gigantic forests and rivers of a pristine world; the expiring groans of her children, and the noble enthusiasm of the Americans for their proud republic from the theme of the poetry of Cooper. Whatever may be said of his imitation of Walter Scott, he is original in his scenes and conceptions, and will for ever remain a rival competitor of the great master. His works have been translated into all European languages, and despite M 3

* Heine's Reisebilder.

166 of the illiberal criticism of his own countrymen, will be read and admired as long as there shall be a heart capable of enthusiasm for liberty. Whatever the Americans may now think of Cooper, he is, and will probably for a long time remain, the most manly and national representative of their literature.

Washington Irving's style is superior to Cooper's in elegance and finish; but his pictures are diminutive, and he succeeds best in sketches. His acquaintance with, and I may perhaps say predilection in favour of European characters, rather pleases the Americans, who are flattered to see him ranked amongst the most classical English writers of the age.

James Paulding is likewise one of the most fertile novelists of America. “The Dutchman's Fireside,” “John Bull in America,” “Westward Hoe,” &c. are well known even in England, and are honourable productions of a descriptive mind. He has also written several plays, and a parody on Walter Scott's “Lay of the Minstrel,” entitled “Lay of the Scotch Fiddler.”

Among the lyric poets of the Americans James G. Percival holds decidedly the first rank, though Bryant and Dana have perhaps more 167 taste and elegance. He is a calm contemplative genius, joining a powerful imagination to a masculine style, and a patriotic ardour which we only recognise again in the works of Fennymore Cooper.—His poems entitled “Clio” were republished in England; and he was the coadjutor of Webster in the publication of his dictionary.—Bryant was for a time editor of “The New York Evening Post,” and George Dana editor of the “North American Review.” The best prose work of the latter is “The Man of Leisure;” and amongst his poems the Buckaneer is justly entitled to the high reputation it enjoys in America.

John Howard Payne and Hillhouse are the Coriphaes of American dramatic literature. The best works of the latter are “The Last Judgment,” “Percy's Mask” and “Hadad.” The plays of Payne appeared first in England, and, I believe, met with a favourable reception. The author has since returned to America, where some of them have been revived on the stage and performed to fashionable audiences. Besides these authors there is yet a number with whose names the British public are familiar. Miss Segurney, Miss Sedgwicke (author of Hope M 4 168 Leslie), Mrs. Child (particularly known as a moral and political writer), and Charles Brockden Brown (author of Edgar Huntly, Carwin and Wieland), need no commendation from my pen. Nathaniel P. Willis, the youngest of the American minstrels, has earned glory and the minstrel's reward in England, and Mr. Theodore S. Fay is well known as the author of “Norman Leslie.” Mrs. Child has just published a new novel, “Philothea,” replete with imagination and classical learning, and imbued with that spirit of morality which distinguishes all her productions.

In the department of science and education a number of original writers have distinguished themselves, not only by composing text-books; but also by publishing works in the higher departments of knowledge. The philosophical works of Cousin have been translated and published in Boston; and Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch has furnished the best translation of La Place's “Mécanique Céleste” with notes and figures (these were wanting in the original) occupying nearly one half of the work.*

* It is perhaps not unworthy of notice that Mr. Hamilton, in his learned criticism on American scholars, should have so far travelled out of his orbit, as to condemn them because they thought themselves mathematicians without reading La Place, and philosophers without understanding Cousin. This idea the learned author introduces amongst a number of not less ingenious remarks on American college-education, compared to that of England. Now whatever the advantages of an *English* collegiate education may be, La Place's Mécanique Céleste forms no text book either in a British or French university, and is not even among the works prescribed for the pupils of the *école polytechnique.* As regards the philosophy of Cousin which, in fact, is based upon his intimate acquaintance with German metaphysics; I am inclined to believe that many a British scholar would have to renounce his claims to philosophy, if the works of that writer were to be made the criterion of his knowledge. Cousin is far from being generally understood by his own *countrymen;* and we may, therefore, infer that he is not quite so intelligible to every *Englishman*, as to the author of “Men and Manners.” At any rate the Americans possess a *translation* of Cousin; and until the English shall have shown the same taste for metaphysics, Mr. Hamilton's remarks on American scholarship can only prove injurious to his own countrymen.

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Were these works published in a new, original language; no doubt could exist, in the mind of any European philosopher, as to their composing the most ample elements of a national literature; but published in an European language an invidious comparison obtrudes itself

involuntarily on the reader; and he declares them—perhaps against his will—as imitations of the classical 170 literature of England. The Americans, as they increase in wealth and power, will enlarge also the field of their literature. It will be strongly tinctured with the spirit of freedom which pervades their country; their imagination will reflect the gigantic scenery of the New World, in comparison to which that of Europe (with the exception of Switzerland) represents but a miniature picture; they will have their epos, their lyric and dramatic poesy; but to an Englishman they will appear as so many annexations to British literature.

America has an European origin, an European language, and an European civilization; three circumstances which will always connect her with Europe, and establish a reciprocal action between the Old and New World. Every English classical poet will be read in America, as the works of every American author of celebrity will constitute part of an English library. Washington Irving and Cooper are now as much read in England as Scott and Bulwer in America; and there is no reason why a similar reciprocity should not exist in the future.

But the English classics, Shakspeare and Milton, will for ever remain the models of Americans, 171 as they are to this moment the beau ideal of the Germans. Genius belongs to no soil. Its action is universal, and cannot be shut out from a country like an article of contraband. Where it is once admitted, it creates admirers; and from admiration to imitation the transition is too natural to suppose that the Americans alone should prove an exception to the rule. Besides, the national distinctions which characterise the people of Europe and America are gradually dying away; the feelings and sentiments of Americans are fast gaining ground not only in Europe, but all over the world; and unless some forcible revolution take place must eventually become those of mankind in general. What changes of feelings have not the English and French undergone for the last thirty years? What, those of the Germans? But every political change in the government of a nation, must necessarily affect its literature. England, France and Germany furnish examples of this doctrine. There is less difference now between the sentiments of a liberal German and an

Englishman, than there was, at the time of the American revolution, between the British and the inhabitants of the United States; and there is certainly 172 more similarity between the writings of Byron, Schiller and Lamartine than could ever be discovered between those of Shakspeare and Racine. But if the literature of a people, speaking a different language is gradually losing its national characteristics, what can be expected from a literary branch of one and the same language?

Another circumstance checking the growth of a national, independent literature in America, is her constant and increased intercourse with Europe. The national peculiarities of a people—in which their literature always participates—are generally founded on prejudices or religious superstition. Both these must yield to the superior light of Christianity, and the knowledge resulting from actual observation.

The national features of the English, the French and the Germans, are not derived from the period of their civilisation; but on the contrary, from the times of their barbarism. The warlike manners of the French are still those of the ancient Gauls, the most characteristic features of the English are yet Saxon, and the best knowledge of the German character may yet be derived from Tacitus.

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America, was civilized in her very origin. The early settlers felt, thought, and believed as their brethren in Europe; or, at least, did not differ from them sufficiently to create permanent distinctions. The people who obstructed their progress and whom they conquered by arms, were not sufficiently powerful to call for an extraordinary demonstration of valour. It was not an expedition of Argonauts in quest of the golden fleece: it did not even partake of the military glory of the conquest of Mexico. The American Indians were a degraded race, without history, memory, or tradition. They seem to have been the remnants of a once powerful people* , whom a general plague or a series of internal wars had reduced to the condition of the most abject wretchedness. There was no renown attached to their subjugation; it was the victory of intelligence over

the barbarism of savages. No poetry therefore attaches to the conquest of the American soil, and the history of it is only remarkable from its conjunction with that of Europe. It was the

* Their religion, rites, and even their bravery seem to warrant this conclusion.

174 oppression of Europe which settled the American wilderness; it was the resistance against Europe, which introduced America into the ranks of nations. Previous to that period America had been a European province, and its history an appendage to that of England. America enjoyed the *political* existence of a nation before it had an *historical* one by geniture. No mythological fable is blended with her origin. Her children are not descended from the gods or the sun; they are pious Christians who from simple colonists have at once risen into a powerful national independence. Had the American Indians, at the time of the European settlements been a strong organised nation, who, by amalgamating with the colonists, would have tinctured the manners of the settlers, and in turn received the superior arts of civilisation, then a national literature, essentially different from the English, might, perhaps, have arisen from the conjunction; but it would have been that of the Indians and not of the settlers; it would have retarded the progress of independence for centuries, and, in its stead, given birth to another system of vassalage.

Another means of levelling national distinctions 175 consists in the propagation of learning. The man of science belongs to no country, and has no prejudices except in favour of those who are his superiors in knowledge. In the common course of nature the arts precede the sciences in every country, as poetry comes before prose: in America alone the sciences have preceded the arts, and thus *raised the nation beyond the tender susceptibility of fiction.* —Rousseau's motto,

“Plus qu'on raisonne moins qu'on aime,”

applies not only to man, but also to Nature. The poetry and awe with which Nature inspires an untutored mind are no concomitants of the demonstrative reasoning of

mechanical philosophy; and her terrors cease to be sublime when disarmed by the discovery of Franklin.* The sciences which teach us to subject nature to human will are most destructive of the imagination; and the universe itself appears pitiable in the shape of an orrery. Even the most profound researches of mathematical analysis diminish the *poetic* grandeur of the heavens, by reducing the infinite and boundless to the computation of the " *infinitely small.* "

* What can be more averse to poetry, than the thunderbolt of Jove made harmless when caught by a lightning-rod!

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How immeasurably great, how infinitely sublime are the Heavens! But the spirit of *littleness* pulled even Heaven down.*

* "So unermesslich ist, so umendlich erhaben der Himmel! Aber der Kleinigkeitsgeist zog auch den Himmel herab." Schiller' *s Poems.*

The Americans, as a nation, cannot be said to be inferior in science to any people in Europe; for not only are its most useful branches more generally diffused and applied in the United States than either in England or France; but also the most abstruse departments of knowledge cultivated and improved by men of competent talents. Their number, assuredly, is not as great as in Europe; but still they exist and are sufficient to imprint a character on the nation. But men of science, as I have remarked before, belong to no country, and are, in themselves, incapable of giving a *national* impulse. They may excite emulation and contribute to the developement of intellect; but they cannot create such lasting distinctions and peculiarities, as we are in the habit of claiming for the national literature of a people.

America has not passed through the different stages of civilization, each of which leaves its historical monuments and a distinct impression 177 on the people. There was no community of religion, and hardly of feeling, previous to their common resistance against

England! It was the genius of liberty which gave America a national elevation; and it is to this genius, therefore, we must look for national productions. It is the bond of union, the confession, the religion, the life of Americans; it is that which distinguishes them above all other nations in the world.

But the genius of liberty, though it has chosen America for its permanent dwelling, overshadows also a portion of Europe. England, France, and Germany are roused by its summons; and the poet of Europe, inspired by the same muse, kneels at the same altar, and worships the same God. Thus, the Americans instead of being a distinct people, have become the representatives of liberty throughout the world. Their country has become the home of the banished; the asylum of the persecuted, the prospective heaven of the politically damned. Every people of Europe is represented in the United States; every tongue is spoken in the vast domain of freedom, the history of every nation terminates in that of America.

But this gigantic conglomeration while it VOL. I. N 178 prognosticates the future sway of the United States, while it promises to revive the history of all ages and of every clime, is nevertheless one of the principal causes why America possesses, as yet, no national literature. Yet there is sufficient of English leaven in this enormous mass to penetrate even its uttermost particles. The fructifying principle is everywhere visible and the fruits are not tardy of coming. But the seed is English, though the soil and the climate may give it a different developement.

But though the literature of America be not a legitimate child of the soil, it may become so by adoption, and as such form a most important and distinct branch of that of England. Compared to English literature, its position will perhaps be similar in rank to the respective political importance of the country; and who can tell, but at some future period, when the British muse may have become silent, her younger sister may revive her memory, and proclaim her fame, and her glorious effusions, to all the nations of the world?

Mr. Chasle , in the *Revue des deux Mondes* , expresses his belief that America is not the land of the muses; because the commerce and continued 179 occupation of her inhabitants preclude alike the commission of great crimes, and the leisure required for poetic inspiration. With him, the Americans are too happy a people. They marry at too early an age, live without intrigue, and prosper till they grow old. There is nothing so prosaic in the eyes of Mr. Chasle as steam-boats, rail-roads, and the building of new cities. Where there is commercial and industrious activity, there is, in his opinion, no spot consecrated to poetry.* N 2

* *D'ailleurs*, "says Mons. Chasle," *il y a peu de mal-être en Amérique; la poësie souffre de cet état prospère.* Le Malêtre Fait Les Grands Poètes. (!)

How unfortunate must have been the times of Shakspeare! What influence must they not have had on Goethe!

" *En Amérique*," continues Mr. Chasle, " *dès qu'un citoyen est mécontent, qu'un fils trouve sa légitime trop courte, qu'un banqueroutier se lasse de sa cinquième banqueroute, il y a, pour tous ces hommes, la ressource du désert, ressource honorable et réhabilitante, colonisation incessante et facile. On défriche, on exploite, on travaille, et nul n'y trouve à redire. La société compte sur cet exutoire perpétuel. Mais aussi elle n'a pas de Lord Byron, que les souffrances des salons grandissent* (!!) *et irritent; pas de chapelain Crabbe qui ait vécu à l'ecole de la faim et de la souffrance; pas d'Ebenezer Elliot qui se plaigne en vers éloquents de n'avoir pas de pain; pas de Lamartine, que les tourments de l'empire et de la restauration aient ramené à la poësie réligieuse, pas de Béranger qui exprime avec un sourire amer le désillusionement des peuples. Helas! que d'amertume sans doute chez tous ces poètes! Que d'angoisses dans l'inspiration de leurs chants. L'Amérique septentrionale est trop heureuse aujourd'hui de son* EXERTION *physique pour produire rien qui en approche.*"

Alas! how distant is yet the golden age of American Literature! The coteries are yet too kind and condescending to produce a Lord Byron; the people too well fed to become poets, and there is no man in the United States who can sing “that he has no bread.” No military despotism nor political misrule has, as yet, brought sufficient misery on the people to make their poets once more embrace the religion which they never abandoned; and there is no man to smile on their delusive love of liberty and independence! As long as the West remains open to the enterprise of merchants and settlers, as long as the soil is fertile and the people willing to *exert* themselves to obtain an honest livelihood, just as long will America be deprived of poets; who in the opinion of Mr. Chasle of the *Revue des deux Mondes* have this remarkable property in common with the grey-hounds, that they show their talents best when they are hungry.

Again he says, “ *Il est* (the American) *trop paisiblement heureux, trop facilement moral* (!) *par tempérament et par habitude. Sa déstinée marche avec une simplicité trop grave. Il n'a pas même le loisir de se créer ces douleurs de mélancolique rê verie, ces douleurs voluptueuses dont nous connaissons toute l'amertume et toute la sensualité, ces peines raffinées qui sont des tristesses de luxe. L'état social dans lequel il vit l'oblige à l'activité la plus constante; tout ce qui l'entoure partage cette activité; les routes se creusent, les rainures se forment; les bois s'abattent, l'eau gronde dans les canaux; le sol est bouleverse; les manufactures naissent; les machines sifflent, murmurent, enfantent leur produits; les villes sortent de terre connue le fungus après la pluie; la vapeur et les chemins de fer anéantissent l'espace et multiplient la terre. Poésie! Poésie! toi qui veux le silence, l'ombre, le bonheur du repos; toi qui n'es féconde que loin de l'activité matérielle, et de la production brute, tu n'as rien à faire en un tel pays.”*

“ *Je ne dis point que la vertu soit incompatible avec le génie. Non certes; peuples et individus n'achèteront pas le génie en adoptant le vice; mais une certain exactitude de comptoir, une certaine piété de formule, une certaine régularité mécanique, éteignent le feu des arts, sans profit la véritable vertu.*” (!)

Less industry, less honesty, and less regularity in the manners and habits of the people would probably be more congenial to the *génie d'artiste*, and to what Mr. Chasle calls “ *une moralité haute, passionée, réligieuse, puissante*,” though it would be difficult for an Englishman to understand the precise meaning of a *high, passionate, religious, powerful* morality, which to a logical mind would convey nothing but a contradiction in the adjectives (a *contradictio in adjecto*).

But Mr. Chasle's idea of poetry will be better understood from the following *ultra* liberal sentiment.

“ *Si vous ôtez à la France sa sociabilité féconde en défauts et en illusions, sa galanterie ennemie des mœeurs et de la fidélité conjugale, sa facilité d'impression et d'émotion, à l'Espagne son mépris romain pour la vie des hommes et son orgueilleuse étiquette, et son catholicisme terrible, et son point d'honneur féroce, vous dessécherez la sève vitale du génie chez ces nations diversement grandes.”*

The English were probably ignorant of the fact stated by Mr. Chasle, that the want of conjugal fidelity in the French, and the bigotry and besottedness of the Spaniards form the principal elements of their greatness. Many a generation must pass away before the Americans will catch the inspiration, and become as “great and poetical a nation” as the French or the Spaniards!

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This rhapsody savours much of the French criticism of German literature, when not more 181 than fifteen years ago “one of the members of the Academy” declared *in pleno* that the Germans N 3 182 though it may escape the eye of a French critic, could never become an imaginative people; because their sky was never blue. Mr. Chasle's observations are neither founded on philosophical observation nor do they betoken the least knowledge of the human heart. All the feelings and passions which ever stimulated men to virtue or hurried them into the commission of crimes; all the disappointments of life which tune the

heart to melancholy sadness; frustrated hopes, baffled ambition, “the pangs of despised love,” and “the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes,” exist in America, as in Europe: the nation alone is as yet exempted from the tragedy. In all her combats, in all her struggles, the republic has been the victor, and the individual woe is buried in the general prosperity. There is enough of the drama in the lives of Americans;

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But there is something in their activity, in the enthusiastic ardour with which they penetrate into their hoary forests, and subject nature to their will, which is truly incomprehensible to Europeans. Most nations, in the early stages of their history had to *fight* for their existence; every foot of territory was disputed by their neighbours, and it was through combat they became strong and powerful. The Americans had no such enemy to contend with, none to resist their expanding power, or to call their martial valour into action. Yet war and strife constitute the lives of nations as of individuals; and this war the Americans wage against the elements. There is something heroic in the voluntary banishment of a New Englander to fertilize the wilderness; there is sublimity in the sufferings and hardships of those exiles from the refinements of civilized Europe. The boldness and daring of the Western settler is really chivalrous, and surpasses even the achievements of the mariner. This is the Trojan war of the Americans, though they have not, as yet found a Homer to immortalise their exploits. No Roman *virtus militaris* is nursed by their N 4 184 deeds, no terror and desolation mark their footsteps; but a nobler virtue is reared in the midst of those forests of a thousand years—a virtue which will outlast the memory of Greece and Rome—the *virtus civilis* of the Americans.

In the Western States the foundation is laying for the wealth and power of future empires. But I repeat it, America is not yet settled; her youthful forces are yet employed in subduing nature and establishing governments. The first act of the American drama has hardly commenced, and should we already judge of its completion? Who can deny the capacity of Americans for literature, when the very first day of her national existence brought forth authors who could dispute the palm with the most fertile poets of Europe? Where is

the French novelist whose works, in literary Germany, are read with as much delight as those of Cooper and Irving? There never was a nation incapacitated for literature, if once capable of civilization; the idea itself is a logical absurdity. Add to this that the Americans are already in possession of a classical language, capable of expressing thoughts with elegance and precision, and the assertion becomes a barefaced effrontery. In whatever 185 contemptuous terms Europeans may speak of American literature, it is nevertheless a most powerful propagator of intelligence, and occupies and expands the mind until scenes of a different nature, shall rouse it to increased poetic action.

But if the Americans are not all poets, they, at least, read poetry, with an avidity which borders on gluttony. *Poetry is the necessary condiment of an American newspaper.* The first page of it is always adorned by a poem, and there are some which are even graced with half a dozen. Supposing only two thousand daily papers to be published in the United States (which is but a small average exclusive of semi-weekly and weekly publications) and their annual number will amount to 730,000. Allowing but one out of a thousand to be good, and you will have 730 good poems in the course of a year, which will make two volumes 12mo. and, consequently, more than is published in a twelvemonth in any other part of the world. I wonder no American bookseller has ever thought of collecting these fugitive poems, which would certainly present a greater variety of entertainment than any one single volume. But the want of enterprise in the venders of books is supplied by the kindness 186 of youths who are in a habit of composing volumes by pasting the best “daily poems” to the blank leaves of their albums; satisfying in this manner the cravings of their tastes, by paying a just tribute to the merits of the author. Let no one smile at the simplicity of this description. Children are sometimes better judges of poetry than adults; and if they do not always understand what they are reading, their feelings are often better guides than the nicest distinctions of critics. Besides who of all that read poetry pretend to *understand* it? Is poetry not often found the more beautiful the more it is unintelligible? Let any one read Lord Leveson Gower's translation of Goethe's Faust, or some of Coleridge's translations of Schiller, and he will at once be satisfied of the truth of my assertion. Is the

author himself obliged to comprehend the sense of it? Would this not be crushing genius in the cradle? As long as these questions are not satisfactorily answered, I am for the pasting system of America, as being at once, an easy, cheap, and comprehensive method of transmitting the fame of our contemporaries to the latest posterity.

Poetry is produced and consumed in America in most enormous quantities. Besides the publications 187 in the newspapers, to which I have already alluded, there hardly passes a day without ushering a new volume into existence, which is greedily read, admired, censured—but at any rate—sold. There are, certainly, more poets among the Americans than prose writers, owing to a kind of musical impulse which makes them express themselves in rhymes. But, above all, it is the prevailing taste of the readers, which calls for this extraordinary exertion on the part of the authors, as the manufactory of goods must increase with the consumption.

The Americans, as a nation, are the most reading people on the face of the earth. I can safely assert that there are annually more volumes read in the United States of America, than either in England, France, or German; but the favourite works are poetry, and next to them novels.

This tender and delicate taste is owing to the circumstance of the ladies reading more than the gentlemen; the latter being at a very early period of their lives engaged in business, or in a habit of improving their leisure-hours with the more serious works on the sciences. Every volume of English poetry, every English novel, 188 is reprinted in America within sixty days or less of its publication, and, in addition to these, five or six hundred native authors keep the press continually thronged and contribute to the diversion of the public. The Germans publish annually a great number of books; but they are, in these departments, vastly inferior to the Americans; and, above all, they are not so much *read.* There exists in Germany, “a Republic of Letters,” but its fame has hardly reached the middle and lower classes. The German *literati* form a distinct class by themselves, and are supported and fed by *one another* , which accounts sufficiently for their want

of corpulency. In America they prey upon the people at large, and their flushed cheeks and sprightly carriage show, at least, that they are not in want of the necessary beef and mutton. What consolation, after all, is it to an author to be read and admired by a few of his peers, while, in the mean time, he is starving at his garret? The Americans, of all people, are the most grateful to their authors; and there is many an European writer would give half of his fair reputation for a share in the favour of the Trans-atlantic public.

Of scientific works, those on mathematics are 189 most generally studied; and next to them the works on natural philosophy, chemistry and mineralogy, with which the greater portion of Americans (even of the inferior orders) are tolerably well acquainted. I have often been surprised at the philosophical explanations given by operative mechanics of the various processes of their art; and I have seldom known one who, in so doing, would not use the most appropriate technical terms.

Elementary works on the sciences are read by all classes without distinction, and the authors of them have frequently become rich by the rapid sale of their works. Many of them are really possessed of intrinsic merit and originality, and have even been reprinted in England. Colburn's Algebra and Arithmetic have been published to the number of more than one hundred thousand copies; Comstock's Philosophy has passed through four or five large editions, and new works in these branches are constantly issuing from the press.

The call for scientific works does not, in many instances, extend much beyond the elements; but this is the case in all countries, and must be still more so in the United States, where a great 190 proportion of the reading and studying community is composed of persons who, in Europe, would never take up a book.

I have known but few American operatives who, at the age of thirty or forty, were not willing to improve their early education by the study of mathematical and other works, to which they would apply themselves in the hours of rest. An American is never too old to go to school, and this is one of the happiest traits of his character. It is a feature which, as far

as I remember, has not been observed by any English traveller: Mr. Hamilton is the only one, who, in his “Men and Manners,” observed, that, in Boston, he listened to a lecture on the steam-engine, which was evidently delivered by an operative mechanic* , and was, in his opinion, remarkably clear and instructive. He ought to have added that the greater number of his hearers was also composed of mechanics, and of men of business, who employed the hours of relaxation in the improvement of their mental faculties. Had Mr. Hamilton taken further

* It was Mr. Claxton, of Boston, one of the most ingenious philosophical instrument makers of that city.

191 information on the subject, he would have learned that lectures on every branch of useful knowledge are periodically delivered in Boston and Philadelphia, and that the most respectable inhabitants of those cities are in a habit of frequenting them for their favourite recreation. He might have enlarged on the influence which such a prevailing taste must necessarily have on the morals of the people, and to what improvements it must lead in every department of science. He might have learned also that in almost every town and village throughout the United States there exist associations of gentlemen and operative mechanics for the promotion of useful knowledge* ; that the most learned and informed of these lecture gratuitously to the others; and that each of these societies is provided with the necessary books and maps for the study of its junior members. He might have seen that same operative of whom he speaks in his work, instructing a class of other operative mechanics and apprentices, in the elements of algebra and geometry, and would have been satisfied with the proficiency of both, teacher and

* These have received the name of “Lyceums.”

192 pupils. But the learned author deemed it sufficient to visit the library of Harvard College (near Boston), and judged at once, from its meagerness (it contains at present little more than 40,000 vols.) that the Americans will always remain tyros in the sciences.

The historical department of American literature is more deficient than any other; but historical writers seldom live in the period of a nation's prosperity, and when they do, their history is poetry. The Americans, moreover, from their great respect for their patriots seem to be more inclined to reading and writing biographies, which furnish at least excellent data for history. Jared Sparks and George Bancroft are authors of great eminence, and deserve all possible credit for the honesty and scrupulousness with which they have collected the materials for a history of the United States; but the arrangement of their works (of George Bancroft's History of the United States, I have only seen the first volume) does not appear to be throughout suitable to the subject; and above all there seems to be wanting that indispensable classification of greater and minor events, that subordination of inferior incidents to the leading facts, that philosophical 193 view and calm contemplation of events as connected with the destinies of mankind, and the developement of human character in general, which constitute the chief merit of an historian. The best history of the United States, published in America, was written by Marshal in form of a “Biography of George Washington,” and to this moment the ablest commentaries on the rise and progress of the United States of America are to be found in the lives and memoirs of their Statesmen.

But there is one particular branch, as I shall hereafter have occasion to remark, in which the Americans excel, and for the study of which they have made the most ample provisions. I would allude to the knowledge of geography, which in no country is so generally diffused as in the United States. The cultivation of this branch of learning is facilitated by excellent maps published in all the large cities of the union, at prices even lower than those of Germany. The art of engraving or lithographing maps has been much perfected in Boston and Philadelphia, and from the latter city have issued the best and most correct publications of VOL. I. O 194 atlasses. For charts, however, the Americans have generally recourse to the English, which I believe are preferred by all navigators on account of their great correctness and minuteness of detail.

The mania for periodicals, which exists in all the large towns of Europe, has also spread to America, and accordingly the “North American” and “Quarterly” reviews, besides a number of “Monthly Magazines,” bearing the names of “American,” “Boston,” “New England,” &c. have been called into existence, not so much to encourage or damn the offsprings of American genius, as to talk promiscuously about the literature and science of Europe, to afford the critic an opportunity of exhibiting his own profundity of knowledge. Something similar to it exists also in England, and particularly in Scotland, where the title of the book on which the critic expands is frequently the means of introducing his own reflections, without the least regard to the work he is about to review. A very inferior writer may thus find an opportunity of acquiring celebrity by coupling his name with that of an author of superior reputation, and passing sentence 195 on him to whom the public look up with reverence. There is a peculiar arrogance in assuming the judge's seat without a jury or counsel for the defendant; and the vulgar are but too apt to believe in the wisdom of gentlemen in office. Neither is there an appeal from the judgment of these petty tyrants, except to the public at large, whose opinion is generally forestalled by the criticism of the reviewer. In Germany there exist already several literary journals admitting of *critique* and *contre-critique* , and inserting neither one nor the other without the name of the author. A man knows in this way by whom he is wronged, and is not injured beyond the possibility of redress.

The American periodicals, like the English, are often devoted to politics and party feelings and scandal are frequently mixed with learned dissertations on the sciences. The “Southern Review” which was published in Charleston, South Carolina, was probably the best periodical which ever appeared in the United States. Though its contributions were anonymous, they were evidently the effusions of the most prominent talents of the south; and though its editors were also unknown, Mr. Legaré the late American O 2 196 chargé d'affaires at the Court of Brussels was named as its chief conductor. The principal English periodicals are all reprinted in the United States, and a collection of them appears, in New York, for not quite the price of any one of them in England.

When the bulk of these publications is considered, it is really astonishing that the Americans should find time to read half of them, with their own works and newspapers, without neglecting their more serious occupations—commerce, manufacture and agriculture. A *Revue Française* is published in New York, and a French paper, " *Le Courier des Etats Unis* " is also established in that city. But no German literary establishment does, as yet, grace any city of the Union. The German daily and weekly papers, which are published in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Missouri do not deserve that name. Several French classical authors have been reprinted in the United States; but with the exception of prayer-books, no similar honour has as yet been done to a German writer of eminence. Is there not one among the five hundred periodicals of Germany which deserves being republished or read in the United States? Would not a collection 197 from the best of them, published, quarterly, in form of a translation, be an useful addition to American reading?

Amongst the periodicals dedicated to science, "Professor Silliman's Journal" occupies the first rank, and is well known throughout Europe; the remainder, however, contain chiefly extracts from English publications, with very little original matter. "The Mechanic's Magazine" of New York, however, is a clever publication; and "The Mathematical Diary" published by Professor Renwick contains nothing but original communications.

The best medical journals are "The American Journal of Medical Sciences" of Philadelphia; "The Archive of Medicine and Surgery" of Baltimore; "The Journal of Medicine and Surgery" of Boston,—"The Medical Magazine" published at the same city, and the "Journal of Medicine and Surgery in the United States" published in New York; besides a great number of others on different branches of the science.

On jurisprudence there are but few periodical publications in the shape of journals or magazines; but on theology there are several commanding the attention of the public. The O 3 198 "Christian Examiner," published by the Unitarians in Boston, contains essays on

ethics and morals, written in a masterly style; but cannot strictly be called a theological publication, in the sense in which the term is generally applied in Europe.

As to the number of newspapers published in the United States, nothing definite can be said about it, except that it baffles all attempts at computation; there being hardly a village or a settlement of a dozen houses in any part of the country, without a printing establishment and a paper. The amount of knowledge and useful information circulated by these most powerful engines of civilization, is really enormous; and although no great depth of reasoning or proficiency of learning particularly distinguishes the fraternity of editors, common good sense is nevertheless the characteristic of an American paper; as without this most necessary commodity it would be difficult for them to make the least impression upon the public.* The amount

* The first printing press was established in Massachusetts, in 1638; and the first printing done in 1639. The first American newspaper, “The Boston News Letter,” was published in Boston, in 1704. “The Boston Gazette” succeeded in 1719; and at the same time (Dec. 22nd of the same year) “The American Weekly Mercury” was published at Philadelphia. The first newspaper in New York, “The New York Gazette,” was printed in 1725; and from that time newspapers were introduced into all the other colonies. All these journals, however, were subjected to a kind of censorship, which continued till the year 1755. It is, perhaps, not altogether unworthy of notice that the first three things printed in America were “ *the freeman's oath*,” “ *an almanac calculated* for New England,” and “ *the psalms in metre*,”—three publications singularly expressive of the New England character.

199 of circulation is prodigious, and greatly facilitated by the reduced postage.

Each paper, not carried out of the state in which it is published, or if carried out of the state not over one hundred miles beyond it, pays but one cent, and if over one hundred miles out of the state, never more than one and a half cent postage; and it is even contemplated to abolish the postage on newspapers altogether. Printers of newspapers may send one paper to each and every other printer of newspapers within the United States *free*

of postage, under such regulations as the Postmaster-General may provide.* Thus an inhabitant of O 4

* The rate of postage on magazines and pamphlets is as follows:—

If published periodically, distance not exceeding 100 miles—1½ cent per sheet.

Ditto, distance exceeding 100 miles 2½ ditto.

If *not* published periodically, distance 4 ditto. not exceeding 130 miles—

Ditto, distance over 100 miles—6 ditto.

“Every printed pamphlet and magazine which contains more than twenty-four pages on a *royal* sheet, or any sheet of *less* dimensions, shall be charged by the sheet; and small pamphlets printed on a half or quarter sheet of royal or less size, shall be charged with half the amount of postage charged on a full sheet.”

200 Boston or New York is able to read the New Orleans papers with little more than an additional expense of four dollars fifty cents, or less than one pound sterling *per annum;* and the inhabitants of the South are at the same cheap rate furnished with information from the North.

Of all the instruments which have been invented for the emancipation of the human mind, the periodical press is the most powerful. Its action is unceasing; its force irresistible; its achievements more lasting than the conquests of arms. The pen has disarmed the sword; and the type-metal of the printer speaks louder than the despot's cannon. This is as well understood in Europe as in America. While England looks upon the liberty of the press as the “palladium 201 of her civil and religious rights* ,” the French are constantly endeavouring to throw off the shackles with which their cunning legislators have at all times tied and disarmed it; and the petty tyrants of Germany, while they hardly object to *large volumes* of liberal sentiments, take great pains to enslave the *periodical* press by

a most odious censorship, lest little by little the minds of their subjects might catch the Promethean fire.†

* *Junius.*

† A work consisting, I believe, of more than 20 sheets may be published in some of the smaller states of Germany, without being previously submitted to the censor; but all smaller publications and *papers* cannot be printed without it.

The most sublime idea expressed or read only once makes but a faint impression when compared to the effects of unceasing, *daily repeated* sentiments, spoken by a thousand tongues, and repeated and rehearsed by thousands of thousands. It is not so much the force or elegance with which these sentiments are uttered; it is the repetition of them which accounts for their power. The same idea is expressed in a thousand different manners, until finally one of them is suited to the capacity of the reader, and produces the desired effect. The 202 operations of the press are slow when compared to the effects of oratory; but they are more lasting and universal. Few only can be convinced by the power of speech, millions re-echo the sentiments of the press. They are brought every day to our doors; wherever we move, their action follows us; in business or amusement, at home or abroad. Not a thought is expressed, not an idea is conceived, which is not destined to make the tour of the world; and what was formerly the property of a few, becomes now the commonwealth of millions.

The periodical press, and the increased facilities with which its publications are distributed, have done more towards changing the face of the world, than was in the power of half a million of philosophers, or the bayonets of all the nations of Europe. But their action has only commenced; the future will show their power and influence on the destinies of mankind.

Nothing is more common in the United States (and, perhaps, also in Europe), than to hear persons speak disparagingly of country papers and editors; as if it were absurd for

every hamlet to have its own press, and to express its own sentiments. I confess myself no partisan to this 203 opinion, and this for reasons which I am about to explain.

Every society of men is capable of a certain intelligence, proportionate to their consciousness of power, and the degree of their moral and political independence. Nothing can promote either so much as the creation of a distinct organ for the assertion of both; or a means of extending their influence. Such an organ is created by the establishment of a newspaper, which, in every country where liberty of the press exists, must necessarily represent the feelings and sentiments of the majority of its readers. Besides the political and other information which a little community derive from it, at a much cheaper rate than would be possible, if they were confined to the reading of city-papers, they have in it also a means of communicating their own sentiments to the inhabitants of the towns, and thus to establish a kind of reciprocity, without which they would be reduced to a state of mere passiveness. Political life and action is thus created in every village, and a general interest in the public prosperity produced throughout the country.

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There is nothing so dangerous to a republic or to the institutions of good governments in general, as a morbid excitability in one or a few of the large towns, with a comparative inaction on the part of the country. France has, at all times, given a most melancholy demonstration of the correctness of this doctrine; and her present situation is far from proving an exception to the rule. All the political life of France is concentrated at Paris, while the provinces are hardly able to re-echo the sentiments of the capital. Neither is the consent of the country deemed necessary whenever the Parisians think it expedient to change the form of their government, or to make concessions incompatible with the chartered liberties of the nation. There exists not even a means of *ascertaining* the sentiments of the country; since it possesses no organ of public opinion, and is not even conscious of the right of being heard, when the national institutions are in danger. A

licentious mob, or a profligate faction may thus rule the destinies of a nation without the least regard to the benefits of those for whom government is properly instituted.

The country will for ever be the best moderator of the cities. The passions of men are 205 sooner excited when living in continual contact with one another, where personal animosities and family quarrels lend to the fury of political parties, than where they are scattered over a large surface, mutually independent of one another, and therefore less anxious to make proselytes.

On this account large cities will always be the worst repositories of public liberty, while the country will prove its best guardian.* If the inhabitants of the cities have better means of gathering intelligence, those of the country have more leisure to think and reflect, and are less subject to the influence of parties. Each class of citizens has its peculiar advantages, and is entitled to an expression of its opinion: and it is the interest of the politician, and the duty of the legislator, to bestow on both an adequate share of attention.

* This, of course, must be understood of the farmers and planters in the United States, who are *all proprietors and independent of one another.*

But there is yet another point of view in which country papers appear to me particularly useful. Thousands of persons are, by their influence, made to read who would hardly think 206 of it, if no other publications than those of the large cities were at their command, whose sentiments and opinions correspond but seldom with their own, and from which they are too remote to be directly concerned in their political proceedings. They prefer to read what is dedicated to their immediate interests, and by so doing obtain a vast deal of political information, which they would not have been disposed to draw from any other source.

It cannot be objected that the same, or even a greater degree of information would be gathered from the periodical publications of the cities, which would undoubtedly be read in lieu of those of the country. Independent of their style being less acceptable to the

taste of those readers, they would establish a system of tutorship and dependency, which would preclude the free exercise of their judgment. The editor of a daily paper ought to be the representative of public opinion, and not a dictator or a political pope as in France, who preaches his infallible doctrine to town and country without restraint or fear of contradiction. The editor of a city paper is always ready to pronounce judgment in a cause in which he never hears more than one 207 party; and depending for subscribers principally on the population of the large towns, it is not difficult to foresee in whose favour his judgment must incline. How easily is not the fountain of such information troubled! Does not the same sentence convey different meanings to men living at a distance from, and to those who are eye-witnesses of, certain scenes! And suppose the editor of such a paper to change sides, or to abandon a cause which to him appears no longer plausible (to say nothing of the possibility of his being bribed): are not the great majority of his country readers misled until they are made acquainted with the circumstances of his conversion? And may it not in this manner happen, that when there are but few organs of public opinion, and those misled or won by the leaders of a party, the opposition may for a time be left without a champion, or a means of asserting their rights? Have we not a happy illustration of all this in the history of the periodical press of France? To how many parties was not the *Journal des Débats* devoted? How many times will it yet change sides and opinions? And yet it was always edited with talent, and ranks now with the best periodical publications of France. 208 Were there more papers published in the French *provinces*, their very number would be an obstacle to their being bribed; and the government, by silencing half a dozen editors in Paris, would not effectually gag the whole nation. I repeat it, the inhabitants of the country are entitled to, and ought to have, their own organs of public opinion, as they enjoy the privilege of sending their own representatives to Congress. In whatever contempt country politicians may be held by a certain party, they are, nevertheless, a wholesome check upon the leading politicians of the cities; and save the country alike from the tyranny of a factious mob, and a selfish and narrow-minded aristocracy.

Let no one say the people in the country ought to be differently employed from speculating upon politics; or that they ought to attend to their domestic concerns and leave politics to the town. Such a guardianship would be fatal to their liberty and independence. The present times are neither made for Arcadian shepherds, nor for a patriarchal life; whatever poetry may be attached to either. Guardianship on the part of the rulers implies want of pupillarity in the governed, and contains the principles and essence 209 of slavery. On this account I congratulate America on the great number of country papers, which circulate throughout the Union, whatever be the *literary* deficiencies of some of their editors. Their number, and the good sense which pervades them, atone practically for the want of elegance of style in any one of them; as their great utility is a sufficient apology for their comparatively slender pretensions to refinement and taste. VOL. I. P

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CHAP. VI.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.—COMMON SCHOOLS.—AMERICAN INSTRUCTORS.—LOW ESTIMATION OF AMERICAN TEACHERS.—COLLEGES.—MEDICAL AND LAW SCHOOLS.—THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.—EDUCATION OF THE CLERGY.—PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

With the exception of Protestant Germany, there is no country in which so much has been done for the education of children, as in the United States of America. In all the large cities of the Union there are public free schools, and there is scarcely a hamlet unprovided with the means of elementary instruction. The States of New England have, in this respect, taken the lead, and all others have since made the amplest provisions for this branch of national developement.

In the State of Connecticut there is a school fund, from which the following dividends are made to each county.

211 Counties. Children. Dividend in Dollars. Dollars. Cents. Fairfield 13,524 12,171 60 Hartford 14,261 12,834 90 Litchfield 12,601 11,340 90 Middlesex 7,337 6,603 30 New Haven 11,789 10,788 30 New London 12,044 10,339 60 Tolland 6,671 5,103 30 Windham 8,057 7,251 30 Total of Children 86,284 76,433 20

It appears, from this table, that there exists, in that State, a provision by which something more than four shillings sterling *per annum* are allowed to every child from four to sixteen years of age, for the purpose of education; a liberality which, I believe, is unequalled in any part of the world.

Nor is this a solitary instance of American liberality in the department of instruction. The amount of tax raised in the State of Massachusetts for the support of common schools, averaged 350,000 Dollars or 70,000 *l.* sterling *per annum.* The State of New York has a school fund of 2,116,000 Dollars or 423,200 *l.* sterling, invested in 9580 school houses; and the expenses of common schools in that State P 2 212 amounted, in 1833, to 1,262,670 Dollars 97 cents, or 252,514 *l.* sterling nearly.

Ohio, Pennsylvania and South Carolina have also adopted the principle of free schools, and other States are gradually following the example. The inhabitants of Boston have made the most ample provisions for the education of children; and the system of free schools, in that city, has become a model for imitation throughou the United States, where similar institutions are now fast rising into existence.

The ablest and most skilful instructors in the United States are natives from New England; who are generally supposed to be better acquainted with school discipline, and better versed in the art of communicating ideas, than the rest of their countrymen. Their religious habits, and the severity of their morals, seem to qualify them particularly for the task of “teaching the young idea how to shoot.” It is computed that not less than sixty thousand New Englanders are employed annually in the instruction of children, in the different States; which single fact is more creditable to New England, than all the praises which could be bestowed on the industry and ingenuity of her inhabitants.

I am afraid, however, that the pecuniary advantages of these gentlemen are not in proportion to their exertion, and that the vocation of an instructor is, after all, not the most honoured in the United States. Much as the Americans appreciate the services of a teacher, they neither reward or esteem him according to his merits, and are hardly ever willing to associate with him on terms of fair reciprocity and friendship. The same feeling, exists, in a still higher degree, in most parts of Europe, especially in England; but then there is no reason why it should continue in America, in a country, in which no disgrace ought to attach to any honest pursuit; but in which, on the contrary, men should be honoured, in proportion as they contribute to the moral and intellectual advancement of the State.

The correctness of this doctrine, however, is so well understood in the United States, that the people are ashamed of their own sentiments, and leave no opportunity unimproved to evince that respect for the vocation *in private* , which they are most deficient of showing on all important occasions. Many a fashionable gentleman of the large cities would be glad of the company of the instructor of his children to a P 3 214 *family* dinner; but would be unwilling to introduce him to a party of friends, and would think himself disgraced, were he to be seen with him on 'change.

The Americans have a nice sense of justice, and understand their own interest too well, to be entirely neglectful of the attention due to instructors of youth; but the more genteel part of the community are too modest to exhibit their sentiments in public. Much however has lately been done for the improvement of the condition of teachers; and it is to be hoped that the newly formed “American Institute of Instruction,” which among its members numbers already some of the most influential and wealthy men of the country, will at last succeed in raising the character of instructors, and thereby increase the sphere of their usefulness.

The salaries of teachers in the public schools in most of the States are mere pittances, when compared with the remuneration of professional men, or clerks in the counting rooms of respectable merchants. The compensation of private instructors is, in general, higher; but still of too sordid a character to enable them to live as gentlemen.

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This inadequate compensation of the most arduous labour, is not only unjust and ungenerous, but productive of the most serious consequences to the public. The profession of teacher is embraced by large numbers of men, who, though qualified for the office, resort to it only as a temporary means of subsistence, which they quit as soon as an opportunity of preferment offers itself in some other quarter. The immediate consequence is an almost annual change of instructors, and the succession in office, of novices unqualified by age or experience. No proper system of school-discipline can, in this manner be introduced by the teacher; because in children the *habit* of obedience does more than the law, and it is the principle of authority to grow stronger by usage. The branches of education themselves must be taught in a loose and disconnected manner; because every teacher has necessarily a method of his own, which can only be improved and modified by a more intimate acquaintance with his pupils. No great application on the part of the teachers or pupils can be expected under such circumstances. Neither can there exist between them that mutual relation of friendship and respect, which is the most P 4 216 powerful stimulus to exertion, and inspires a taste for the cultivation of the sciences, on the principal of emulation, more lasting than that which results from a momentary enthusiasm in their pursuit.

But the greatest evil arising from the too frequent changes of instructors in the United States is the unavoidable contempt to which it exposes the veterans in the profession. —Many of the most eminent lawyers, ministers, and physicians of New England have, during a certain period of their lives, been obliged to resort to teaching, either to finish their collegiate education, or to obtain the necessary means for the study of their respective

professions. They have thus been in a habit of considering the employment of an instructor as a sort of relief from the most pressing necessities; but not as *an end* to be proposed by a man who aspires at honourable distinction. This creed, once established in the minds of professional men, has communicated itself to all ranks of society; so that instead of the thanks of his fellow citizens, an ancient instructor is only sure of being considered as a man of inferior talents; else he would have followed his colleagues in their professional 217 career. As long as this opinion of instructors is entertained in the United States, the schoolmaster's task will be degraded. Those whom necessity shall reduce to it, will look upon it as defaming their fair reputation; and embrace the first opportunity to leave it with disgust and detestation.

But with what zeal can a man devote himself to a profession, at once laborious and difficult, in which the greatest success is incapable of procuring distinction?—which exposes him to unmerited contempt and reproach? And why should a petty-fogging lawyer or a quack, consider himself better than an honest and successful instructor?

“Honour and shame from no condition rise; Act well your part, there's where the honour lies.”

With regard to the plan of instruction, considerable improvements have been made within the last ten years. The mechanical Lancastrian system has every where been improved or superseded by the inductive method of Pestalozzi; which, as it is calculated to draw out the *thinking* faculties, is naturally better adapted for the instruction of republicans.

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The branches of learning, which are best taught in American schools, and in which the pupils seem to be better informed than those of any school I have seen in Europe, are arithmetic, geography, geometry, grammar, and reading: those in which they are most deficient, are history and foreign languages. The taste for mathematics is so prevalent in the United States, that even the young misses study geometry and algebra, and

this principally on account of their usefulness in strengthening and invigorating the intellect. Mechanics and astronomy, together with the elements of natural philosophy and chemistry, are taught in all female seminaries throughout the country; and there are some in which even plane and spherical trigonometry are introduced as regular branches of instruction.

There are many schools for young ladies entirely conducted by gentlemen; and the undertaking has proved so profitable to the instructors, that many of the most distinguished professors of colleges have resigned their chairs, to assist in the education of women. By a singular *caprice* of the American coteries, the principals of these schools are exempted from the odium 219 which is generally attached to the profession: they are the only instructors in the United States who enjoy a fair share of the reputation and esteem, to which they are justly entitled by their talents and labours.

The improvements which have lately been made in the system of education in Germany have not passed unnoticed by the vigilance of Americans; and a society is already formed at Albany, in the state of New York, charging itself with the translation of the Prussian school-books.—The object of the society is to improve the system of instruction in the state of New York, and to adopt, instead of the disconnected treatises now in use in the different schools, the uniform system of the Prussian textbooks. This liberality of the Americans, with regard to the system of education in general, must, ere long, extend itself also to the instructors. It will raise the standard of their profession, and remunerate their services in a manner which shall induce them to follow their task from choice and not from necessity. The high respect which is paid to all persons engaged in the business of instruction in Germany is, perhaps, the principal reason why it is so cheerfully embraced 220 by gentlemen of literature and science, and has done more for the improvement of common schools, than all the laws enacted for that purpose.

To show in what low estimation teachers are held in the United States, notwithstanding the general call for public instruction, and the importance attached to it by private individuals

and legislative assemblies, I here insert an extract from the “Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the State of New York,” made January 1835.

“The incompetency of teachers” says the report “is the great evil of the common school system of this State, and it may, indeed, be said to be the source of the only other material defect which pertains to it,—a low standard of education in most of the schools. The evil however is by no means universal. There are many teachers of ample qualifications, and many schools of high standing, both as regards the nature and extent of their acquirements. The principal obstacle to improvement is the *low wages* of teachers; and, as this is left altogether to be regulated by contract between them and their employers, there would seem to be no 221 effectual remedy for the evil, but to inspire the latter with more just conceptions of the nature of the vocation, and its high responsibilities; and of the necessity of awarding to those who pursue it, a compensation in some degree suited to its arduous duties and requirements. So long as the compensation of teachers is on a level with that which is commanded by the most ordinary employments, it is not to be expected that men of the necessary talents will prepare themselves for the business of teaching; but it may justly be said that there is scarcely any vocation, in which the best talents can be employed to greater advantage. The practice of paying “ *low wages* ” has, as might be expected, introduced into the common schools, teachers wholly incompetent to execute their trusts; who have brought in bad methods of teaching, and kept down the standard of requirement for their pupils on a level with that by which their employers have measured their qualifications.”

“Although the compensation of teachers is still extremely low, it is gratifying to reflect that it is increasing. In the districts heard from the number of schools kept during the year 1833, an average period of eight months was 9,392. 222 The amount annually paid for *teachers' wages* in the same district was about 665,000 Dollars. This sum divided by the schools would give each teacher 8 Dollars 85 cents a month.* But it is supposed that female teachers are employed about half the time at a compensation of about 5 Dollars (a Guinea) a month.† In this case

* Equal to 1 *l.* 16 *s.* nearly, or about 9 *s.* a week; in a country, where the commonest day-labourer may earn from 50 cents to 1 Dollar or 2 *s.* 3 *d.* to 4 *s.* 6 *d.* each day. The wages in the cities average still more; and there is no servant or housemaid to be obtained at less than from 10 to 15 *s.* per week besides board.

† This is a sordid practice introduced throughout the United State. Female teachers are employed for no other apparent end than because they are less expensive than regular instructors. Women in general (unless mothers) are not the most appropriate teachers of boys, even in a nursery; much less are they capable of superintending the more advanced education of male children. The system of instruction in every branch of learning requires considerable modification according as it is to be applied to the pupils of one or the other sex:1

1 *Schwarz.* Erziehungslehre. Leipzig, 1829.

and on this account I think female instructors as little qualified for the instruction of boys, as male teachers to superintend the education of young ladies. The teachers ought to represent the parent, which to a boy must be the father, and to a girl the mother of the child.2

2 *Niemeyer.* Grundsätze der Erziehung. Halle, 1825

223 the average compensation of male teachers would be 12 Dollars and 70 cents (2 *l.* 10 *s.* 5 *d.*) nearly. By a similar estimate for the year 1831, contained in the report of the superintendant made in 1833, it appears that the average rate of *wages* was but 11 Dollars 85 cents (2 *l.* 8 *s.* 5 *d.*) A similar estimate for 1832, would give 12 Dollars 22 cents (2 *l.* 9 *s.* 5 *d.*) Thus it appears that the *rate of wages* is regularly advancing, although still altogether inadequate to the services rendered."

This report which was evidently drawn up by a gentleman engaged in *improving* the system of instruction of common schools, appears nevertheless, from the unhappy choice of terms, replete if not with contempt, at least with little consideration for the vocation of

teachers. A regret is expressed that instructors are not better paid; because " *low wages* " are not apt to act as a premium on the skill and application of *workmen;* but the idea does not seem to be for one moment lost sight of, that teachers are hirelings, whose labours are always to be commanded with money, as the services of journeymen mechanics. I am not inclined to believe 224 that the character of teachers in the State of New York will improve as long as they receive "wages;" and am fully convinced that half the number of teachers employed in that State, if they were qualified for the business, would be more serviceable to the public, than two or three times their actual number, with their present inferior acquirements, joined to the disadvantages of their position.

Owing to the system of education generally introduced in the schools of the United States, textbooks written in the catechising form (with questions and answers) are preferred to more compact treatises. In some branches of education this method of instruction may be advantageous; but in others it must prove a serious evil. Mechanical methods ought to be carefully avoided as begetting indolence in both teacher and pupil, and taxing the memory without exercising the nobler faculties of the mind. I do not think, however, that the Americans are, in this respect, more deserving of censure than the generality of the English; and they are certainly superior to the lamentable deficiency of French elementary instructors. But their system of 225 instruction, could not, as yet, be compared to that of Germany, either in method or discipline; although a vast number of improvements have already been adopted, and legislative assemblies and private individuals are constantly aiding the progress of elementary education.

There are two branches of instruction however, which I consider to be better taught in America than even in Germany. I would refer to reading and speaking. The Americans, in general, take more care to teach a correct pronunciation to their children, than the English; and the Germans are almost wholly unmindful as to the correctness of utterance, or elegance of language. They are so much attached to the substance of thoughts, that they heed little in what form the latter are expressed; and are satisfied with teaching their pupils to understand what they are reading, or to comprehend with the eye what they are

unable to express with clearness and precision. A German boy knows often more than he can express in his abstract and unmanageable language: an American says at least as much as he knows; and is VOL. I. Q 226 seldom embarrassed except with the difficulty of the subject.

This readiness of the Americans to express with promptness and precision what they have once been able to understand, is as much owing to their system of education, as to the practical genius of the nation; and of immense advantage in the common business of life. An American is not as “manysided” as a German; but whatever he has learned he has at his fingers' ends, and he is always ready to apply it. A little, in this manner, will go a great way; and the amount of intellect and application which is thus penetrating every corner of the United States is prodigious, when compared to the seemingly slender means by which it is produced. Propose a question to a German, and he will ransack heaven and earth for an answer. He will descend to the remotest antiquity to seek for precedents; and, after having compared the histories of all nations, and the best commentaries on them in half a dozen languages, he will be so perplexed with the contradictory statements of authors, that his conscientiousness will hardly allow him to venture an opinion of his 227 own. He will give you a most erudite *resumé* of the subject; acquaint you with all that has been said on it in Sanscrit and Arabic, and, after having made some remarks on the respective credibility of these writers, leave the conclusion to your own ingenuity. An American, with hardly one tenth of the learning, would have submitted the subject to *common sense* , and, ten chances to one, would have given you a satisfactory answer. The Germans are the best people in the world for collecting materials; but the Americans understand best how to use them. I know no better combination of character than that of German and American; and there is probably no better system of instruction than a medium between the theoretical rigour of the former, and the practical applications of the Americans.

The German system favours the developement of the mind to the exclusion of almost all practical purposes; the American aims always at some application, and creates dexterity and readiness for action. One is all contemplation; the other all activity: the former is

adapted to the abstract pursuits of philosophy; Q 2 228 the latter to the practical purposes of life.

Each of these systems has its own advantages and disadvantages, and corresponds well to the genius of the respective nations among whom it is established. There is probably no better place than a school-room to judge of the character of a people, or to find an explanation of their national peculiarities. Whatever faults or weaknesses may be entailed upon them, will show themselves there without the hypocrisy of advanced age; and whatever virtue they may possess is reflected without admixture of vice and corruption. In so humble a place as a school-room may be read the commentaries on the past, and the history of the future developement of a nation.

Who, upon entering an American school-room, and witnessing the continual exercises in reading and speaking, or listening to the subject of their discourses, and watching the behaviour of the pupils towards each other and their teacher, could, for a moment, doubt his being amongst a congregation of young republicans? And who, on entering a German academy, would not be 229 struck with the principle of authority and silence, which reflects the history of Germany for the last half dozen centuries? What difficulty has not an American teacher to maintain order amongst a dozen unruly little urchins; while a German rules over two hundred pupils in a class with all the ease and tranquillity of an Eastern monarch?

In an American school every thing is done from conviction; in a German, obedience is from habit and precedent. How active is not the strife for consideration and power amongst a class of young Americans; how perfectly contemplative the same collection of Germans, intent only upon their studies and the gratification of individual tastes.

The majority of the pupils of an American school will imprint their character on the institution; the personal disposition of the teacher in Germany can always be read in the behaviour of his pupils. There is as little disposition on the part of American children to

obey the uncontrolled will of their masters, as on the part of their fathers, to submit to the mandates of kings; and it would only be necessary to conduct Q 3 230 some doubting European politician to an American school-room, to convince him at once, that there is no immediate prospect of transferring royalty to the shores of the New World.

It has been observed that with Americans mathematics come by instinct. This is true *with regard to the applications* of the science, which in America are as well, or better understood, than in any part of Europe; but there is no taste visible for the mere abstract knowledge of it, as is the case in France and Germany.

The Americans are born analysers, and are better able to understand a principle from its application, than to seize a truth *in abstracto;* nor would they think such a truth an acquisition, unless they saw its practical bearings. I have known several excellent mathematicians in Boston and Philadelphia; but their talents were all of the order I have described; and I suspect, therefore, that they are not very eminent teachers. The method of instruction must necessarily be synthetic; and implies a process of reasoning, which as far as my experience goes, is least acceptable to American palates. In politics analysis is the only means 231 of arriving at fair conclusions; but in the exact sciences it is less direct and secure, although it is the method of invention and the most fertile in applications. On the whole, I do not think that the Americans have a greater share of mathematical talent than Europeans; but they certainly apply it to greater advantage, and evince an acquaintance with the science in all their civil and political transactions. Mathematics with them are an active principle; not an abstract science, as in Europe.

For history the Americans seem to have the least fondness; but they are great admirers of statistics, and have an astonishing memory of numbers. An American considers the history of his country as the beginning of a new era; and cares, therefore, less for the past, than he does for the present and the future. Statistics is nevertheless a still-standing history* , and the key or index to the future fate of a nation. This truth is as well understood

in America as in any other country; and, accordingly, the rage for statistical tables, as a means of obtaining knowledge Q 4

* Schlözer. Lehrbuch der Statistik. Göttingen.

232 in a quick and easy manner, exists in the United States to a still greater degree than in England or France. I have known few persons in Europe, as well acquainted with the imports and exports, revenue and expenditure, amount of national debt, standing armies and navies, &c. of their own and foreign countries, as the great mass of Americans.

Geography is well taught from excellent text-books, some of which have been translated into several European languages. The proficiency of the pupils in this branch is highly creditable to the instructors, and surpasses in minuteness and correctness that of most scholars of the same age in Europe.

But the most surprising fact, in the whole course of American education, is the *total absence of religious instruction* , in most of the elementary schools. This is entirely left to the care of the parents, and confined, principally, to the reading of the Bible and the hearing of sermons and lectures on the Sabbath. I confess myself unable to judge of the expediency of this course, which is perhaps rendered necessary by the great number of religious sects 233 who send children to one and the same school; but whatever its disadvantages may be, I am quite certain there is as much theoretical and practical religion in the United States, as in any other country.

Before I conclude these observations on elementary instruction in America, I would mention a subject, which, as yet, seems to have escaped the attention of most travellers, though it is sufficiently interesting in itself, and explanatory of a great many peculiarities in the lives of Americans. I would allude to the precocity of children, which results from the plan of education pursued in schools and at home, and perhaps also, from the peculiar climate of the country.

An American boy of ten or twelve years of age, is as much of a young man as an European at sixteen; and when arrived at that age, he is as useful in business, and as much to be relied upon, as a German at twenty-four, or a Frenchman at fifty. Something similar to it may also be found in England; but neither climate nor education promote it to the same extent as in America. From the earliest period of his life, a 234 young American is accustomed to rely upon himself as the principal artificer of his fortune. Whatever he learns or studies is with a view to future application; and the moment he leaves school he immerses into active life. His reputation, from the time he is able to think, is the object of his most anxious care; as it must affect his future standing in society, and increase the sphere of his usefulness.

As a school-boy he has his opinions on politics and religion; which he defends with as much ardour as if he were a senator of the republic, or a minister of the gospel. By the time he is able to read and write, he is already forming the plan of his future independence; and I have heard boys from ten to twelve years of age enlarge on the comforts and advantages of married life, with as grave an aspect, as if they had been reciting a mathematical lesson, or discussing the merits of an essay on politics. They were calculating the prospects of domestic happiness, as a merchant would the profits of a mercantile speculation, or a banker his commission on a bill of exchange.

American children study the foibles of their 235 parents and teachers, which they are sure to turn to their own advantage, and at the age of twenty-one are better judges of characters, and human nature in general, than many an European at the age of fifty. In girls this precocity is blended with bashfulness and modesty; but the most characteristic feature of American children, whether male or female, is, nevertheless, an early developement of the understanding, and a certain untimely intelligence seldom to be found in Europe.

The Americans have a much shorter period assigned to them, for the completion of their studies, than Europeans; but the quantity of knowledge acquired in that time is really

prodigious, and it is a wonder if the memory can retain one fourth part of it in after life. A child from four to five years of age is already obliged to be six hours a day at school, and to study perhaps two or three more at home; and as it advances in age, the number and variety of these studies increase in a duplicate ratio. At the age of twelve, a boy will study Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, algebra, geometry, mechanics, moral philosophy, mineralogy, natural philosophy, chemistry, and 236 heaven knows what! and manages at least to recite his lessons to the satisfaction of his teachers. I have never seen an attempt at any thing similar in Europe; and am satisfied of the utter impossibility of its success, were it to be hazarded in England or Germany.

If the time devoted to an American college-course were anyways in proportion to the intensity of application on the part of the pupils, the American seminaries would be the first in the world; and its professors and students the most remarkable for application and learning. But, unfortunately, the period of a collegiate education is limited to four years; which is about one half of what ought to be allowed for the completion of the course prescribed for an American college. Not much more than the rudiments of science can be required in so short a period; and the American scholar, therefore, must chiefly depend on the resources of his own mind, and the assistance of libraries, to become eminent in any department of knowledge, or to compete with men of learning in Europe. A number of American students, are, for this purpose, annually visiting the Universities of Europe, 237 especially those of Germany, and many distinguished scholars in the United States are as intimately acquainted with the literature of that country, as with the literary institutions of their own.

But if the Americans do not as yet possess the higher institutions of learning, which are the ornament of the most civilised states of Europe, the elements of a classical and mathematical education are at least disseminated throughout their whole country, and the means of laying the foundation of scholarship in every State of the Union. They had in 1835 not less than seventy-nine colleges, thirty-one theological seminaries, twenty-three medical, and nine law schools. The following table will exhibit their names and location,

together with the number of pupils and professors, and the libraries attached to those institutions, which, it must be understood, are annually increasing.

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AMERICAN COLLEGES.

No. Names. Place. State. Founded. No. of Professors. No. of Alumni. No. of Ministers. No. of Students. No. of Vols. in College Libraries. No. of Vols. in Students' Libraries. 1. Bowdoin Brunswick Maine 1794 10 528 52 139 8,000 4,000 2. Waterville Ditto 1820 8 113 27 4,500 1,500 3. Dartmouth Hanover New Hampshire 1770 11 1858 512 186 6,000 8,500 4. University of Vermont Burlington Vermont 1791 7 224 100 6,000 2,400 5. Middlebury Ditto 1800 5 650 228 163 2,300 3,100 6. Norwich University Norwich Ditto 1834 5 7. Harvard University Cambridge Massachusetts 1638 30 5321 1344 208 43,000 4,500 8. Williams Williamstown Ditto 1793 7 800 120 3,000 3,200 9. Amherst Amherst Ditto 1821 9 384 66 252 4,300 6,250 10. Brown University Providence Rhode Island 1764 10 1253 450 195 6,000 5,600 11. Yale New Haven Connecticut 1700 27 4485 1297 413 15,000 15,000 12. Washington Hartford Ditto 1824 8 115 42 55 2,000 2,500 13. Wesleyan University Middletown Ditto 1831 6 111 3,000 14. Columbia New York New York 1754 11 1620 100 8,000 6,000 15. Union Schenectady Ditto 1795 10 1600 308 268 5,350 8,920 16. Hamilton Clinton Ditto 1812 7 270 69 115 2,500 3,700 17. Hamilton, Lit. and Theo. Hamilton Ditto 1819 8 124 83 1,600 18. Geneva Geneva Ditto 1823 7 18 922 820 1,150 19. University of New York New York Ditto 1831 17 226 20. College of New Jersey Princetown New Jersey 1746 12 2064 424 215 7,000 4,000 21. Rutgers New Brunswick Ditto 1770 8 257 39 93 3,000 3,500 22. University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia Pennsylvania 1755 20 22 2,000 23. Dickinson Carlisle Ditto 1783 6 20 3,000 5,500 24. Jefferson Canonsburg Ditto 1802 8 404 170 175 1,000 2,400 239 25. Washington Washington Ditto 1806 7 146 47 1,500 26. Allighany Meadville Ditto 1806 4 10 120 8,000 27. Western University Pittsburg Ditto 1820 7 45 50 500 28. Pennsylvania Gettysburg Ditto 1832 6 90 29. Lafayette Easton Ditto 1832 4 23 30. Bristol College Mear Bristol Ditto 1833 4 80 31. Newark Newark Delaware 1833 5 75 1,000 32. St. John's Annapolis Maryland 1784 7 645 108 2,700 400 33. St. Mary's Baltimore Ditto 1799 25 180 12,000 34. Mount St. Mary's Emmittsburg Ditto 1830 25 21 90 7,000 35. Mount Hope Near Baltimore Ditto 1832 7 45 36. Georgetown Georgetown District Columbia 1799 17 90 134 12,000 37. Columbia Washington Ditto 1821 8 50 4,000 38. William and Mary Williamsburg Virginia 1693 6 60 3,500 600 39. Hampden Sydney Prince Edward's College Ditto 1783 4 60 5,000 3,200 40. Washington Lexington Ditto 1712 4 380 36 1,500 41. University of Virginia Charlottesville Ditto 1819

9 118 250 10,500 42. Randolph-Macon Boydton Ditto 1829 6 120 43. University of North Carolina Chapel Hill North Carolina 1791 8 334 100 1,800 3,000 44. Charleston University Charleston South Carolina 1785 4 65 18 40 3,000 50 45. College of South Carolina Columbia Ditto 1804 6 10,000 46. University of Georgia Athens Georgia 1785 9 323 126 4,500 2,500 47. University of Alabama Tuscaloosa Alabama 1828 6 26 104 3,000 600 48. Lagrange New Tuscaloosa Ditto 1830 120 49. Spring Hill Spring Hill Ditto 1830 8 85 50. Jefferson Washington Mississippi 1802 70 51. Oakland Oakland Ditto 1831 4 130 52. Louisiana Jackson Ditto 1825 4 15 350 53. Greeneville Greeneville Tennesse 1794 2 100 30 4,000 54. Washington Washington Ditto 1794 1 100 35 500 55. University of Nashville Nashville Ditto 1806 6 168 125 2,100 5,500 240 56. Fast Tennessee Knoxville Tennesse 1807 2 90 3,000 200 57. Jackson New Columbia Ditto 1830 6 3 100 1,250 58. Transylvania Lexington Kentucky 1798 4 600 50 48 2,400 2,000 59. St. Joseph's Bardstown Ditto 1819 15 80 3 130 5,000 60. Centre Dauvill Ditto 1822 8 66 1,600 61. Augusta Augusta Ditto 1823 6 60 75 2,000 500 62. Cumberland Princetown Ditto 1825 3 28 72 500 63. Goergetown Georgetown Ohio 1830 3 56 1,200 64. University of Ohio Athens Ditto 1821 5 72 26 45 1,000 1,000 65. Miami University Oxford Ditto 1824 8 80 17 126 1,200 2,500 66. Franklin New Athens Ditto 1821 6 20 7 100 300 750 67. Western Reserve Hudson Ditto 1826 7 25 82 1,600 300 68. Kenyon Gambier Ditto 1828 14 60 2,300 69. Granville Granville Ditto 1832 6 80 3,000 70. Marietta Marietta Ditto 1833 4 93 71. Oberlin Institution New Elyria Ditto 1834 4 72. Willogbby University Chagrin Ditto 1834 8 73. Indiana Bloomington Indiana 1827 5 10 1 77 600 400 74. South Hanover South Hanover Ditto 1829 9 4 30 75. Wabash Crawfordsville Ditto 1833 4 60 76. Illinois Jacksonville Illinois 1830 5 25 1,500 77. University of St. Louis St. Louis Missouri 1829 15 9 200 7,500 78. St. Mary's Barrens Ditto 1830 15 5 124 6,000 79. Marion New Palmyra Ditto 1831 7 80 241

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

No. Name of the Seminary. Place. State. When Commenced. Denomination. No. of Proffessors. No. of Students' in 1834–5 No. Educated. Volumes in the Library. 1. Bangor Theological Seminary Bangor Maine 1816 Cong. 3 27 62 62 2,300 2. Theological Seminary Andover Massachusetts 1808 Cong. 5 152 672 11,000 3. Divinity School Cambridge Ditto 1824 Cong. Unit. 3 36 100 4. Theological Institution Newton Ditto 1825 Baptists 3 53 31 1,800 5. Theological Dep. of Yale College New Haven Connecticut 1822 Cong. 3 53 113 2,000 6. Theological Institution of Connecticut E. Winsor Ditto 1834 Cong. 3 17 2,000 7. Theological Institution, Episcopal Church New York New York 1819 Protestant Episcopal 6 80 200 3,880 8. Theological Seminary of Auburn Auburn Ditto 1821

Presbyterian 4 56 190 4,500 9. Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution Hamilton Ditto 1820 Baptist 4 38 124 2,250 10. Hartwick Seminary Hartwick Ditto 1816 Lutheran 2 3 1,000 11. The Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church New Brunswick New Jersey 1784 Dutch Reformed 3 24 12. Theological Seminary of the Protestant Church of the United States Princetown Ditto 1813 Presbyterian 5 140 714 7,000 242 13. Seminary of the Lutheran Church of the United States Gettysburg Pennsylvania 1826 Evangelical L. 2 25 7,000 14. German Reformed York Ditto 1825 German Ref. Church 2 20 15. Western Theological Seminary Alleghany Town Ditto 1828 Presbyterian 29 4,000 16. Theological School Canonsburg Ditto Asso. Church 1 17.Theological Seminary Pittsburg Ditto 1828 Asso. Reformed 1 19 18. Episcopal Theological School of Virginia Fairfax Co. Virginia Protestant Episcopal 2 39 65 2,000 19. Union Theological Seminary Prince Edward Co. Ditto 1824 Presbyterian 3 35 76 3,200 20. Virginia Baptist Seminary Richmond Ditto 1832 Baptist 3 58 21. Southern Theological Seminary Columbia South Carolina 1829 Presbyterian 3 22 1,800 22. Theological Seminary Lexington Ditto 1832 Lutheran 2 1 14 1,200 23. Furman Theological Seminary High Hills Ditto Baptist 2 30 1,000 24. South Western Theological Seminary Maryville Tennessee 1821 Presbyterian 2 22 62 5,000 25. Theological School Lexington Kentucky 1834 Protestant Episcopal 3 8 2,000 26. Lane Seminary Cincinnati Ohio 1829 Presbyterian 3 42 27. Theological Dep. of Kenyon College Gambier Ditto 1828 Protestant Episcopal 11 28. Theological Dep. of Western Reserve College Hudson Ditto Presbyterian 3 29. Theological School Columbus Ditto Lutheran 30. Granville Theological Dep. Granville Ditto 1832 Baptists 1 30 500 31. Indiana Theological Seminary Hanover Indiana Presbyterian 2 20 243

There were also five Roman Catholic seminaries, viz., at Baltimore and near Emmitsburg in Maryland; at Charlestown South Carolina; near Boardstown and in Washington county Kentucky, and in Perry county Missouri.

MEDICAL SCHOOLS.

No. Name. Place. Professors. Students. 1. Maine Medical School Brunswick 5 86 2. New Hampshire Medical School Hanover 3 106 3. Vermont Medical School, University of Vermont Burlington 3 4. Vermont Academy of Medicine Castletown 6 62 5. Massachusetts Medical School Harvard University Boston 6 82 6. Berkshire Medical Institution Will. College Pittsfield 5 85 7. Medical School Yale College New Haven 5 64 8. College of Physicians and Surgeons New York New York 7 158 9. College of Physicians and Surgeons Western District Fairfield 5 217 10. Medical Department of Jefferson College Philadelphia 6 233 11. Medical Department of University of Pennsylvania Ditto 9 392

12. Medical Department University of Maryland Baltimore 6 143 13. Washington Medical College Ditto 6 14. Medical Department Columbian College Washington 6 30 15. Medical Department University of Virginia Charlottesville 3 37 16. Medical College of State of South Carolina Charlestown 7 127 17. Medical College of South Carolina Ditto 8 18 18. Southern School of Practical Medicine Ditto 6 19. Medical College of Georgia Augusta 7 20. Medical College University of Transylvania Lexington 6 255 21. Louisville Medical College Louisville 6 22. Medical College of Ohio Cincinnati 6 110 23. Ref. Medical College of Ohio Worthington 4

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LAW SCHOOLS.

No. Name. State. Location. Professors. Students. 1. Cambridge Massachusetts Harvard Univ. 2 32 2. New Haven Connecticut Yale 2 48 3. Philadelphia Pennsylvania 4. Williamsburg Virginia William and Mary 1 6 5. Charlottesville Ditto Univ. of Virginia 1 33 6. Fredericksburg Ditto 1 20 7. Lexington Kentucky Transylvania Univ. 1 36 8. Cincinnati Ohio Cincinnati College 3 9. Augusta Georgia 20

From the above tables it will be perceived that in the 79 colleges of the United States there were, in 1835, 639 instructors employed in teaching Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, and other elementary branches of learning to 7810 students; and that there were, besides, 220 professors in the higher departments of science for an average number of 5000 pupils. The number of alumni and students in the various colleges amounted to more than 33,000, and the number of volumes in the libraries, to 456,420; of which 277,770 belonged to the colleges, 113,220 to the students' libraries, and 65,430 to the theological seminaries. But since 1835, five new colleges have been established, viz. Haddington college in Pennsylvania, Shurtleff and Mc Kendrean colleges in 245 the state of Illinois, Columbia college in Missouri, and Buffalo college, on a munificent scale in the state of New York.* It is to be observed, moreover, that out of the whole number of colleges more than one half have sprung up since 1820, and nearly one third since 1830. Most of them were established in the western states, where civilisation has scarcely penetrated within a dozen years; and the theological seminaries date nearly

all from the period of 1820. We shall see hereafter, how the remarks of some English writers agree with these facts.

* The town off Buffalo it must be remembered, contained in 1810 but 1500 inbabitants; but bids now fair to rival New York.

When we speak of the merits of American institutions of learning, we ought not to forget that the United States are still *settling* and not *settled;* and that, consequently, all the Americans have done thus far, for the promotion of learning, is rather to be considered as indicative of their taste and the high value they set on intellect, than as a fair specimen of what they will be able to accomplish in the course of time.

The attention of the public must be earnestly R 3 246 directed towards improvements in education, in order to establish, within the space of ten years, eight new colleges in a state, which has only been settled within the last forty years, as is, for instance, the case with the colleges of Oxford, New Athens, Hudson Gambier, Granville, Marietta, New Elyria, and Chagrin, in the state of Ohio. In the state of Kentucky, which in 1790 contained but 73,677 inhabitants, of whom about one third were slaves, there are now six colleges with nearly forty instructors. The state of Alabama, which in 1810 had but a population of 10,000 people, including slaves, had ten years later already a seminary of public instruction with six professors in the various departments of science. The state of Mississippi did not exist three years (it was only admitted into the union in the year 1817), without instituting a seminary of learning with ten professors; though its whole population, at that time, did not exceed 75,000, of whom about 33,000 were slaves. The college of St. Louis was incorporated in 1829, nine years after the territory of Missouri had been admitted into the union as an independent state; though it contained at that time little more than 100,000 inhabitants, of whom nearly 25,000 were 247 slaves; and a new college has been established since 1835, in that state. The college of Bloomington, Indiana, was established in 1827 though the whole state did not yet contain a single large town (New Albany the largest of them containing in 1831 but 2500 inhabitants), and the college of

Jacksonville, in the state of Illinois, in 1830; the whole county of that name containing then little more than 1500 inhabitants. Judge Hall, in his oration, delivered at Vandalia (!) on the 4th of July 1830, expressed his sentiments in reference to this college in the following manner.*

* I quote it here, because it is strongly expressive of the feelings of the people in general.

“All who have explored this state (Illinois) agree in awarding to it the capacity to sustain a larger amount of population, than any other equal expanse of territory in the United States. *But it is the moral more than the physical character, which raises a state to a proud elevation among her sister republics.* Illinois is destined to have wealth and strength; and it is important that she should also have intelligence, virtue, and refinement, to enable her to direct her mighty energies to the noblest ends. Industry and arts R 4 248 will soon make their abodes among us. Millions of freemen will draw their subsistence from our prolific soil. Let us train up our young republicans to virtue. *Let us educate the children, who, in a few years, must stand in our places.* Let us lead back their minds to the example of the pilgrims, who forsook their country and their homes, rather than violate conscience or offend their God.”

Where such sentiments prevail the best hopes must be entertained of the future. The literary institutions of America may be as young as the states in which they are formed; but they are, at least, in proportion to their population, more *numerous* than in any part of Europe, Germany not excepted; and afford ample means of initiating beginners into the elements of science, at an expense of little more than one third of what is required, for similar purposes in England.

The academical course, as I remarked before, is completed in four years, at the end of which the degree of Bachelor of Arts is conferred without any of those rigid examinations which are customary in the universities of Germany. No dissertation is required, on a particular subject, and the candidates for academical honours are 249 not obliged to

become authors before they are pronounced to be scholars.* The merits of the students are computed from their daily recitations in the various departments of instruction; and the system is, at least, daily productive of application which, in the more scientific institutions of Germany is constantly deferred to the end of the “semester.” An American student does not learn as much, at any one time, as a German, and his knowledge, therefore, is less connected and arranged; but he acquires a great deal, little by little; and can in this way, more easily follow his professors. The hardships of an American student are certainly less than those of a German; but then he enters the university at a much earlier period, and quits it at a time when Europeans are yet at school.†

* This is the practice in Germany.

† Compare the preceding remarks on American precocity.

The degree of Master of Arts is conferred three years after that of Bachelor is obtained; but is less desired in America, and consequently more seldom granted, than in England.

The academic morals I should pronounce to be a shade higher than those of English or German students, and the practice of duelling is, I believe, entirely unknown. But the German 250 universities were at all times considered as national institutions; which can hardly be said of the American colleges, established by the munificence of individuals, and maintained, frequently, for the promotion of the interests of a particular denomination of Christians.

The libraries of the American colleges, cannot, certainly be compared to those of Oxford or Göttingen, or Munich, and perhaps not even to those of much inferior institutions of learning in Europe. But in the natural and exact sciences a small number of works, principally modern, suffices to acquire proficiency; and these, as far as I am acquainted, are found in all the larger colleges of the United States. Nine tenths of all the works to be found in European libraries are only referred to as bearing on the history and literature of the sciences, and are hardly ever read by the younger students, who are too busily

engaged with the new discoveries, to devote any considerable portion of their time to the philosophical contemplation of their origin and progress.

For philological studies, the Americans, have until now, shown but little fondness, and the libraries of their colleges are therefore, very deficient in this branch of knowledge. But then 251 where so much is constantly doing for the education of youth, in other departments, it would be unjust to expend large sums in the purchase of books, on a subject which would only gratify a few individuals; who ought sooner to visit Europe to gratify their thirst for a branch of knowledge the least useful in the life of a young republic, than tax their fellow-citizens at home with expenditure for which they could never make an adequate return.

But the greatest deficiency exists in the historical department, which scarcely furnishes matter for the history of America, and is lamentably defective for that of Europe. Of the whole range of studies pursued in American colleges, that of history is most neglected. The taste for it remains to be created; and, as far as I can judge, no symptoms of it are as yet perceptible in the social institutions of the United States.

The theological libraries, have also been complained of as being extremely deficient; but most of the predominant religious sects in America draw their arguments directly from the Bible, and not from any human authority whatsoever; and have therefore less recourse to written documents. The Americans believe— 252 and this not without their usual good sense—that an acquaintance with the temptations and trials of this world, and the motives of human actions, is as indispensable a qualification in a minister of the gospel, as the most critical knowledge of canonical laws; and require their religious instructors to be rather practical men, than skilled in the theological sciences.

Mr. Hamilton, in speaking of the education of the American clergy, after having made a number of valuable remarks on “timber and tobacco growers,” concludes with the following bitter reflections.

“Even to the present day, the value of education in the United States is estimated not by its result on the mind of the student, in strengthening his faculties, purifying his taste, and enlarging and elevating the sphere of thought and consciousness; *but by the amount of available knowledge which it enables him to bring to the common business of life.* ”

“The consequences of this error, when participated in by a whole nation, have been most pernicious. It has unquestionably contributed to perpetuate the very ignorance in which it originated. It has done its part, in connection with other causes, in depriving the United States of the most enduring source of national greatness. Nor can we hope that the evil will be removed* until the vulgar and unworthy sophistry which has imposed on the judgment, even of the most intelligent Americans† , shall cease to influence some wiser and unborn generation.”

* I leave to the reader to contrast this declamation with the facts I have hitherto stated.

† Compare Judge Hall's Speech, alluded to, page 247.

“The education of the clergy differed in little from that of laymen. Of theological learning there was none, nor did there exist the means of acquiring it. It is probable that within the limits of the United States, there was not to be found a single copy of the works of the Fathers. But this mattered not. Protestantism is never very amenable to authority, *and least of all when combined with democracy.* Neither the pastors, nor their flocks were inclined to attach much value to primitive authority (?), and from the solid rock of the Scriptures, each man was pleased to hew out his own religion, in such form and proportions as were suited to the measure of his taste and knowledge. It was considered enough that the clergy could *read* the Bible in their vernacular tongue, and expound its doctrines 254 to the satisfaction of a congregation not more learned than themselves.

“To the present day, in one only of the colleges has any provision been made for clerical education.* Many of the religious sects, however, have established theological *academies*

, in which candidates for the ministry, may, doubtless, acquire such *accomplishment* as is deemed necessary for the satisfactory discharge of their high functions."

* This remark is quite incorrect. Theological schools are attached to the universities of Yale and Harvard; as, also, to Princetown, New Brunswick, Kenyon, Western Reserve, Granville and Lexington colleges. (Compare the table of theological seminaries with that of the colleges.) But the learned author seems to have been too much influenced by his holy zeal for religion, to enquire fully into the state of religious instruction in America.

Now, in the first place, the habit of studying a profession, principally on account of its *practical* applications, exists in all countries; though there are gentlemen in the United States as well as in England, cultivating science *con amore* , such as the learned author of "Men and Manners," without ever thinking of applying their wisdom in practice. Necessity however has always been "the best teacher, as well as mother of invention." 255 I believe the instances are rare, in which persons are willing to devote themselves to the study of theology, without the hope of future promotion; and the eagerness with which church livings are coveted in England, shows at least the unwillingness of the clergy to embrace the profession merely for the sake of "enlarging and elevating their sphere of thought and consciousness." Theology, jurisprudence and medicine are in Germany known by the name of "bread-studies" (Brot-studien); because they are principally pursued for a temporal establishment; and the number of those who apply themselves to them to become practical lawyers, physicians, or ministers, is, for the benefit of mankind, in all parts of the world, greater than that of those priests of knowledge whose sole object it is "to purify their taste," and to "enlarge and elevate the sphere of thought and consciousness."

The Americans consider their ministers as public servants, paid by their respective congregations in proportion to the degree of their usefulness. It is a principle with them to establish no sinecures, either in religion or politics; and their clergy, therefore, have less fortune and 256 leisure to employ in their personal improvement *as gentlemen* , though

they have ample time for the cultivation of that more substantial knowledge in a minister, which teaches him to imitate the example of his great Master; and, by winning the hearts of his congregation, and influencing their morals by his own irreproachable life, to become truly the pastor of his flock, and the friend and counsellor of every family in his parish. Such were the ministers of the pilgrims, and such, it is to be hoped, will be the ministers of the gospel in the United States yet for many a generation. And the people with a simplicity which does credit to both their hearts and their understandings, value these qualifications in their clergymen higher than the strongest claims of the latter to the refined tastes of gentlemen.

The standard works on British Law have always been republished in America (mostly in Boston and Philadelphia) and make part of every lawyer's library. To these must be added the numerous digests of American Laws, the statutes of the different states, and the larger works of American jurisprudence. Several of these, among which are the works of Kent and Story, are sufficiently known to the profession in England, to 257 need no further notice in a work of this nature. An American lawyer has certainly greater difficulties to overcome to attain to eminence in his profession, than any other barrister in the world. Not only is he to be learned in the English law, which forms the basis of American jurisprudence, but he must also be familiar with the different statutes of each state in the Union, together with those of the United States themselves. The prerogatives of the general government and those of the governor and legislature of each independent state present often the nicest points of distinction, and afford ample scope for the ingenuity and discrimination of American lawyers. The most fertile in argument and scientific distinctions are, I suppose, those of Philadelphia, their fame being established by the adage, “This will puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer;” which is expressive of the same difficulty as the squaring of the circle in mathematics.

The reason why law-schools are not so numerous in the United States as other institutions of learning, is because young men are in a habit of studying with some professional gentlemen of acknowledged talents and reputation; a custom which exists equally in

England and extends also VOL. 1. S 258 to medical students in lieu of a *clinicum* for young practitioners.

The first anatomical operation in the United States, consisted in the dissection of the body of a felon, who was executed in 1750. Six years later Dr. Hunter of New York, a graduate of the university of Edinburgh, commenced a course of lectures on anatomy and surgery; and in 1765 the first medical school was established under the superintendence of Doctors Shippen and Morgan of Philadelphia. In 1767 another medical school was founded in New York; but from that period till 1792 the progress of medicine was interrupted by the war of the American independence. A second medical institution was established in New York in 1792, which was afterwards united with the first, under the name of “College of Medicine and Surgery.”

The medical school of Massachusetts was established as early as 1782; but its celebrity commenced only with the year 1810, when it was transferred to Boston, and became one of the most flourishing institutions in the Union.

The fourth medical school in America is the work of Dr. Smith of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. It was founded in Hanover in 259 1797; and, since that time, similar institutions were established all over the United States.

Schools of pharmacy exist in New York and Philadelphia, and have, together with the “Journal of Pharmacy,” much contributed to the improvement of this most useful science.

It may yet be remarked, that the Americans have made proper provisions for anatomy; the bodies of felons and other persons buried at the States' expense, being, by law due to the students of anatomy. The state of Massachusetts set the example, and many of the other states were prompt in its imitation. I mention this particularly, because no similar provision, I believe, promotes as yet the study of anatomy in England.

If, then, instead of scrutinising particular institutions of learning, we consider the general progress of education and science in the United States, and by what means that progress has been insured, we shall not accuse the Americans of indifference with regard to the higher attainments of the mind. The majority of their colleges and universities, and especially their public S 2 260 libraries, when compared to those of Europe, are, perhaps yet in a state of infancy; but they are daily enlarging, and their number increases even faster in proportion than the population of the Western States.

The Americans are fully aware of what they have yet to accomplish before they can rival Europe in the arts and sciences; but they have certainly made a noble beginning, and are constantly improving in every department of knowledge. If they do not *import* a great number of scientific works from Europe,—a fault with which Mr. Hamilton severely reproaches them—they *reprint* the more, and have also published many excellent translations from the French and German, among which it will be sufficient to allude to the works of La Place, Cousin, Heeren, and the German Conversation Lexicon. This, in a country like America, in which more than one half of the entire population have not as yet any fixed habitations, affords assuredly a strong proof of the high value its inhabitants set upon literary and scientific acquirements; while at the same time it is the best refutation of the gratuitous charge, that the 261 Americans are strangers to the pleasure arising from intellectual pursuits; or too much absorbed by trade and traffic, to bestow any considerable portion of their time on the cultivation of their mental faculties. S 3

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CHAP. VII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICANS.—DEFINITION OF AMERICAN PATRIOTISM.—THE AMERICANS AS A MORAL AND RELIGIOUS PEOPLE.—DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN AMERICA.—UNITARIANISM.—THE RESPECT OF THE AMERICANS FOR THE LAW.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE LYNCH-

LAW—ITS ORIGIN.—TEMPERANCE AND OTHER BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.—NATIONAL CHARITY.

Though the Americans, in general, have fewer prejudices, than any nation in Europe, and possess, therefore, less of a national character; though they have no community of religious feeling; yet their exists amongst them an uniformity of thought and sentiment, which is sufficient to mark them as a distinct people. These sentiments are principally *political* , or have reference to their *habits of industry.*

The Americans present the singular spectacle of a people united together by no other ties than those of excellent laws and equal justice, for the maintenance of which “their lives, their fortunes 263 and their sacred honours” stand mutually pledged.* The American commonwealth consists of a community of reason and good sense; its empire therefore is the largest, and its basis the most unalterable on which the prosperity of a people was ever established. They revere the theory and foundation of their government, to which they transfer most of their local attachments, their love of country, and those generous sentiments, which the contemplation of the gigantic scenery which surrounds them is calculated to inspire. There is, at present, no room for idylic poesy and romance: but the energetic development of the nation may soon furnish matter for an epopee.

* “Declaration of Independence.”

An American does not love his country as a Frenchman loves France, or an Englishman England: America is to him but the physical means of establishing a moral power; the medium through which his mind operates—“the local habitation” of his political doctrines. His country is in his understanding; he carries it with him wherever he goes, whether he emigrates to the shores of the Pacific or the Gulf of S 4 264 Mexico; his home is wherever he finds minds congenial with his own.

Americans have been reproached with want of love for their native country; but with such an enlightened attachment to their moral and political institutions it is difficult to fix upon

the limits of the empire which must eventually be theirs, or upon the boundary line which they shall not overleap in their progress. The patriotism of the Americans is not confined either to a love of their country, or to those who are of the same origin with them; it relates to the mind, and to the habits of thinking and reasoning. Whoever thinks as they do, is, morally speaking, a citizen of their community; and whoever entertains opinions in opposition to their established theory of government, must be considered a natural enemy to their country.

The moral influence of this process of reasoning on the prospects and future power of the United States is incalculable. It has made America the representative of a doctrine which is fast gaining ground throughout the civilized world; it has extended her physical and moral dominion, and created for her friends and allies in every nation and in every clime. It has made 265 her cause the cause of humanity, and her success the triumph of reason over ignorance and prejudices. What people could now make war on America, without retarding the progress of their own freedom? What arm would not drop palsied in aiming a blow at American liberty? What mariner would wish to extinguish the beacon-light which directs the course of his navigation?—It has made the Americans strong within themselves and invulnerable from without. Their political doctrines have become the religion and confession of the people of all countries: like the truths of Christianity they have had their apostles and their martyrs; and like those truths they are destined to become the universal faith of mankind.

Neither can the patriotism of the Americans be called a vague and indistinct feeling; on the contrary, it is clear and defined, and has a definite aim. It is not an instinctive attachment to scenes with which they are acquainted from childhood, or to men to whose familiar converse they are accustomed: it consists in the love of principles, for which they are ready to make every sacrifice, and which in the outset they preferred to their homes.

The American pilgrims carried their country in their hearts, and their government in their minds. Their character was formed before they touched the soil which was to nourish them, and has ever since remained superior to local circumstances. The Americans entered the wilderness as masters determined to subdue it; and not as children of nature nursed and brought up in its bosom. They could not at first love what was not their own; and when it became theirs, they had already changed its face.

The succession of changes was so rapid that scarcely one could leave a permanent impression on their minds. They treated nature as a conquered subject; not as a mother who gave them birth. They were the children of another world; who came thither to burn, ransack and destroy, and not to preserve what they had found. They burned the forests, dug up the bowels of the earth, diverted rivers from their course, or united them at their pleasure; and annihilated the distances which separated the North from the South, and the East from the West.

All other nations have *gradually* merged from barbarism to civilization, and in the successive 267 stages of their developement, been strongly influenced by the soil and the climate. But it is in proportion to the length of time nature retains her dominion over man, that he will cling to her as a child to its mother, or that local attachments to the soil and the country are formed. At the very settlement of America (as I remarked in the last chapter) the highest degree of civilization, the product of another clime, was at war with a pristine world; and to this moment no permanent truce is established. Let the conflict be brought to an end; let man make his peace with nature; and she will once more become his companion, and make him love his native land.

I have said that the patriotism of Americans is not a vague and indefinite feeling; but that it consisted in a strong attachment to principles. I say so still. The principles which they cherish are those of liberty, and they are sufficient to raise them to a proud eminence amongst the nations of the earth. They establish a moral empire more durable than human feelings, and less susceptible of changes. I will now add that the Americans *love* their

country, not, indeed, deed, *as it is;* but *as it will be.* They do not love the land of their fathers; but they are 268 sincerely attached to that which their children are destined to inherit. They live in the future, and *make* their country as they go on.

It often appeared to me as if the whole property of the United States was only held by the Americans in trust for their children, and that they were prepared to render a religious account of their stewardship. See with what willingness they labour to secure an independence to their children!—with what readiness they take a part in the national improvements of their country!—with what cheerfulness they quit an already fertilized soil and emigrate to the “far west” to make more room for their offspring! How ready they are to invest their fortunes in undertakings which can only benefit their progeny!—Are these no proofs of a genuine patriotism? Is this not the most exalted love of country of which history furnishes us with a record?

A mere local attachment to the soil, however it may influence the domestic happiness of a people, is of itself, hardly capable of imparting that national impulse which directs the feelings and actions of individuals to a common centre, and makes them sacrifice their own private interests to the general good of the whole.—It 269 must be a spiritual essence, a community of the highest faculties of the mind, which shall make men look on one another as brethren, and unite them as members of one and the same family. It was the *spirit* of the Romans which created and preserved Rome; as it was the highest principles of religion which united the Israelites into a nation, and led them out of the land of bondage. It was the love of political and religious liberty which led to the settlement of the British American colonies; and the same feeling is yet sending thousands to the shores of the New World. It is the cement of the American confederacy, and the very essence of their commonwealth.

I am aware, it will be urged that it is not so much the liberal institutions of America as the immense resources of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the vast extent of commerce, which are the causes of the constant emigrations to the United States. This, however,

is but begging the question. For without those institutions the resources of the country would not yet be developed, the soil would not yield its produce, and the commerce of the country would still linger under onerous laws.

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It is the love of freedom, the hope of being exempted from burthensome taxes, and the expectation of being able to call their own what they shall earn by their honest toils, which causes most Europeans, and especially the Germans, to emigrate to the United States, in preference to the equally fertile, but ill-governed states of South America. The security and good faith of the American government act at least as much as an enticing cause as the hope of realising a competence.

The early settlements of the British North American colonies, their political progress, and the present prosperous condition of the United States, may be alike traced to the love of liberty, which from the commencement distinguished the Americans; and the history of the individual states sufficiently proves that their inhabitants set a higher value on political and religious freedom than on the physical advantages of the soil, and the means of acquiring riches. “For what is good land without good laws?”—said the early colonists of West Jersey, in their remonstrance against the usurpations of the Duke of York—“the better the worse. And if we could not assure people of an easy, and free, and 271 safe government, both with respect to their spiritual and worldly property,—that is an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, by a just and wise government,—a mere wilderness would be no encouragement; for it were a madness to leave a free, a good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure?”

“We have not lost any part of our liberty,” continued they, “by leaving our country: for we leave not our king, nor our government, by quitting our soil; but we transplant to a place given by the same king, with express limitation to erect no polity contrary to the same

established government, but as near as may be to it; and this variation is allowed but for the sake of emergencies; and that latitude bounded by these words, ‘ *for the good of the adventurer and planter.* ’ ”*

* *Samuel Smith's* History of New Jersey.

Property, in some of the South American republics, is acquired with as much, or even 272 greater facility, than in the United States; but there is no security for its preservation, while the latter offer in this respect, greater guarantees than any other country, England and France not excepted. There are no conflicting elements which threaten an immediate change or overthrow of her established institutions. The opposition in America is powerless; and never refers to the *principles* of government; but only to particular measures. No class of society in the United States is opposed to republican institutions, as there is no political party whose permanent interests are opposed to the majority of the people. Neither is the policy of the United States likely to involve the country in a foreign war; and if in a national broil the republic should become a belligerent party, her political and geographical position is such, that she has little to fear from an enemy.

The Americans have kept good faith with all nations; and by the most unexampled economy discharged their national debt. Their credit is unrivalled; their honour unquestioned, and the most implicit confidence placed in their ability to fulfil their engagements. They have, thus far, received strangers with hospitality, and 273 put no obstacles in the way of their progress. They have not monopolised a single branch of industry; but let foreigners and native citizens compete fairly for an equal chance of success. They have established liberty of conscience, and compelled no person to pay taxes for the support of ministers of a different persuasion from his own. They have abolished all hereditary privileges; but let all men start free and equal, with no other claims to preferment, than that which is founded on superiority of intellect. In short, they have made their country the market for talent, ingenuity, industry and every honest kind of

exertion. It has become the home of all who are willing to rise by their own efforts, and contains within itself nearly half the enterprise of the world.

These are the true causes of the rapid growth of America, which, joined to her immense natural resources, must make her eventually the most powerful country on the globe. It is the principle of liberty, carried out in all its ramifications and details, which has produced these mighty results. The states of Buenos Ayres and Brazil contain immense fertile plains, blessed with a climate vastly superior to that of the VOL. I. T 274 United States, and watered by streams which may vie with the Mississippi; but no earnest attempt seems, as yet, to have been made to settle them; and of the thousands of emigrants from Europe, scarcely a handful have seen the La Plata, or ventured themselves on the Amazon. The physical advantages are on the side of South America; but every moral and political superiority is permanently established in the United States.

One of the greatest advantages enjoyed by the Americans, and which can never be sufficiently taken into consideration, consists in their being descended from the greatest and most enterprising nation in Europe. America, in her very cradle, was the child of freedom; wrapt in chartered rights and immunities. She was the offspring of a strong, healthy, well-conditioned mother, who was determined not to spoil her by foolish caresses; but rather hardened her constitution by premature exposure. To the noble blood of her mother, she joined the superiority of education obtained in the school of adversity; and to the attachment of her parent to liberty, the sturdy love of independence.

The English have bestowed more blessings on 275 humanity, by the establishment of their colonies, than any other nation in the world. To whatever quarter they have transferred their laws and institutions, they have contributed to improve the condition of the human race. The French, the Dutch, the Spaniards and the Portuguese have also established colonies; but these have never risen to political importance. They were no nurseries of freedom; but administered only to the sordid cupidity of their parents. Even in achieving their independence they fall into wreck and ruin; and the sickly progeny of diseased

parents can hardly survive their sires. Compare to this the active vigour of the British Colonies; their legislative assemblies; their administration of justice, and the liberty of the press established in most of them!

The Americans, after the war of independence, possessed the advantage of British laws and institutions; from which they selected and retained all they deemed good, and rejected all that was obnoxious or inapplicable. It was a particularly fortunate circumstance that they could retain so much; and thus the citizens of the young republic were already *accustomed* to conform to the majority of their new laws. Had the change T 2 276 in the legislation been sudden and radical, it would perhaps have been difficult, in the outset, to enforce that unlimited respect for the law, without which no liberal government can subsist, or must soon degenerate into anarchy.

But it was not so in America. Most of the statute laws of the States were of old standing; and the people willing to bow to them as the result of the wisdom of ages. This was a great step towards the consolidation and permanency of their government. They had in most cases only to *transfer* power instead of *creating* it anew; and the people who were used to its existence, were ready to lend it obedience.

The same principle is yet operating in the new settlements. Without any legislative assembly, or a special agreement for that purpose, every new colony in the Western States elects its magistrates, empannels its juries, and establishes its courts of justice, as if the settlers were the inhabitants of a county in Great Britain; and without a positive code of their own, the English law is in force till abrogated by statutes. This establishes order and harmony in the beginning, and is the means of great savings of time and money. Instead of turning their 277 early attention to the establishment of governments, and the enacting of suitable laws, the whole energy of the settlers is employed in improving the country, under the highest moral and political standard of legislation, adopted by the common consent of all parties. The Americans, by a singular dispensation of Providence,

are enabled to profit by experience which they themselves have not made; and are enlightened by the wisdom of old age, in the vigour and buoyancy of adolescence.

But if the Americans have inherited advantages from England, they have not been the less anxious to improve them. They have not buried their talent, but put it out at interest. To the eminent qualities they possessed by virtue of their descent, they have added copious new ones; and have been studiously anxious to avoid the errors of their ancestors. Their laws and institutions furnish ample proofs of this assertion. They have promoted morality by the simple force of example; they have advanced the cause of religion without making appropriation for the clergy; they have facilitated the means of education, by establishing free schools throughout the country, and are entitled to the T 3 278 universal gratitude of mankind by their philanthropic improvements in the discipline of prisons. They have gone farther; they have aided the progress of education in foreign countries, by establishing seminaries of learning in Greece, and sending missionaries and instructors to the islands of the Pacific; to spread the doctrines of Christianity among the Indians; and have set an example to their own progenitors in their efforts for the suppression of intemperance. They have joined their efforts to those of the most prominent philanthropical societies of Europe, and have softened the lot of fugitives from tyranny by the most liberal provisions of Congress. The absolute powers of Europe have designated America as an exile for political offenders, a conception which does credit to their ingenuity; but they ought to take heed, lest the banishment should become too attractive, and hasten the commission of crimes, for the sake of incurring its penalty.

But the strongest tie, which unites the Americans into a powerful nation, is the hope of acquiring property and consideration, which their institutions hold out to all persons without distinction of birth or parentage. The idea may be 279 prosaic; but it is nevertheless a correct one. What unites the citizens of a country more effectually than their common stakes of rights and property? The more they have to defend, the better will they defend it. Must not the stoutest patriotism relax in a country, in which a man is born only to be the footstool of those above him; in which the most persevering exertion can hardly protect

him against want, and in which he must leave his children without inheritance, to lead the same weary life as their father. How must it affect his pride and honest ambition, to be marked from his birth as an inferior being; though the faculties of his mind ought to make him the peer of the favoured! What stimulus to industry is there in the thought that labour is incompatible with gentility; and that the highest title to respect is the having *inherited* a fortune?

The Americans alone, of all nations, have completely overcome these prejudices. In their country the same rights, the same privileges are offered to all; industry is an honour, and idleness a disgrace; all a man earns is his own, or goes unimpaired to his children; no beginning is so humble but what it may lead to honour; and T 4 280 every honest exertion is sure of its adequate reward. As long as the institutions of America are productive of such happy results, it is but natural that the people should cling to them as the principal cause of their boundless national prosperity.

Of all the writers on the United States I remember but one* , who has enlarged on the general morality of the country, to show the intimate connection which exists between it and the stability of republican governments. This is a subject of much importance, and admits of a variety of detail.

* Alexis de Tocqueville " *De la Démocratie en Amérique.*"

Morality, I am aware, is philosophically separable from religion; but I am fully convinced, that in practice, especially as regards the whole people, the separation is absolutely impossible. Neither the mere abstract love of virtue, nor its perfect harmony with all other laws of nature, nor even the happiness which it is calculated eventually to produce, have ever been sufficient to restrain either the lower or higher classes from the commission of crimes against individuals or society in general. Religion, in all countries, 281 has been the broadest basis of national virtue; and the same holds of the United States of America. Although the most perfect tolerance exists with regard to particular creeds, yet

it is absolutely necessary that a man should belong to some persuasion or other, lest his fellow-citizens should consider him an outcast from society. The Jews are tolerated in America with the same liberality as any denomination of Christians; but if a person were to call himself a Deist or an Atheist, it would excite universal execration. Yet there are religious denominations, in the United States, whose creeds are very nearly verging on Deism; but taking their arguments from the Bible, and calling themselves followers of Christ, they and their doctrines are tolerated, together with their form of worship.

The Unitarians, who are forming large congregations in the Northern and Eastern States, taking for their motto the words of St. Paul, “Prove all things; hold fast that which is good,” are perhaps without knowing it, as nearly as possible, on the verge of pure Deism; but as long as they conform to the usual form of prayers, to the regular sabbath service and evening lectures, and partake of the sacrament, they will be considered 282 as good Christians, and enjoy the same consideration as any other sect in existence. But their creed is far from being universally popular, especially in the Southern States, where it is almost wholly confined to the trading classes, composed of emigrants from New England.

The inhabitants of the South are principally Episcopalians, and as much attached to authority in religion as they dislike it in politics. They consider Unitarianism as a religious democracy; because it relies less on the authority of the Scriptures, than on the manner in which the understanding of the clergy expounds them; and retains too little mysticism in its form of worship, to strike the multitude with awe. I have listened to many excellent sermons preached by Unitarian clergymen, containing the most sublime moral which I ever knew to flow from the pulpit; but I hardly ever perceived a close connection between the text and the sermon, and whenever they entered upon theological doctrines, I have always found them at variance with themselves and each other. I write this with the fullest conviction that I do not, myself, belong to any orthodox persuasion; but as far as logical reasoning and consequence of argument go, I think the 283 Unitarians more deficient than any other denomination of Christians. I do not see how they can hold the ground which they have assumed; they must, in my opinion, go either further on the road to Deism, or

retrace their steps and become once more dogmatical Christians. The greatest objection I would make to Unitarianism is the absence of *love* in many of its doctrines; and the substitution of ratiocination in most cases, where the heart alone would speak louder than all the demands of a sedate, reasonable, modest morality. When I hear an argumentative sermon, I always remember the words of our Saviour:

“Happy are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven.”

And when I hear stoic virtues preached, I remember poor Magdalen,

“To whom much was forgiven; because she loved much.”

“Two reasons there are for the spreading of Unitarian doctrines in the United States. First, because its ministers are amongst the most highly gifted, and the more eloquent as they belong to a sect which is yet in the minority; and secondly, 284 because there is a class of people in America, who, aware of the moral and political necessity of religion, in order to restrain the vices of human nature, would do all in their power to preserve the text and practical applications of Christianity; while, at the same time, they would willingly dispense with certain ceremonies and popular beliefs, which, in their opinion, are not essential to religious worship. They call themselves “Unitarians;” because they dare not call themselves more, or rather less; and are better known by their opposition to orthodoxy, or what they think the extravagances of the Christian faith, than by any positive tenets of their own. They agree, as far as I am acquainted, on but one point, which is the denial of the Trinity, by denying the divinity of Christ; but as to the *authority* for their belief, it is too nearly related to a certain branch of the applied mathematics, to require a particular comment.*

* I have heard the doctrine of the Trinity disputed; on the ground that *three* are not *one;* as if any denomination of Christians considered the trinity of God as more or less than

three different manifestations of the same principle. I thought these objections sufficiently combatted in Swift's sermon “On The Trinity.”

Many Unitarian preachers have published 285 excellent sermons; which have become popular, even in England; and as long as they refrain from attacking other sects, and retain their purity of style, I can see no reason why they should not be read, by all denominations of Christians, as containing a concise, intelligible, and even eloquent code of morals.

I ought to observe moreover, that the Unitarians in New England form a highly respectable and intellectual class of society, whose private lives and virtues offer but little room either for moral or religious criticism. This is probably the reason why Unitarianism is supposed to become popular in the United States; though it is, by the great majority of the people, still looked upon as a doctrine incompatible with pure Christianity. But then we ought to distinguish between cause and effect; and not ascribe, exclusively, to the doctrine, what may, perhaps, be more easily explained, by the peculiar position of its followers.

The Unitarians in the United States are not numerous; they are, for the most part, in 286 tolerable circumstances; and, at the head of their persuasion is the oldest and best university of the country.* No other religious denomination in America enjoys the same advantages; and we might, therefore, naturally, expect some moral distinction in favour of its adherents. But if Unitarianism should ever become the creed of the great mass of the people, it is more than probable those advantages would cease or, at least, be confined to a small number.

* Harvard College; the most literary institution in the United States.

Religion gains more from the heart, than from the abstract understanding; and is more accessible through the medium of the feelings, than through the most logical course of demonstrative reasoning. Man is naturally a sophist; and ever ready to adapt his creed to

his actions, or at least to allow his conscience a certain latitude, incompatible with moral and religious justice.

The Christian religion addresses itself particularly *to the heart* , and is, on that account, accessible to all capacities, and adapted to every condition of life. Love and charity are its 287 basis; and Christ himself has set the divine example in dying for the sins of this world. To strip religion of its awful mysteries, to explain the creation and redemption of man like a phenomenon in natural philosophy,—and to make human intellect the ultimate judge of its truth and applications, is to deprive it of its sanctity, and thereby of its influence on the majority of mankind.

I do not believe that the spreading of Unitarianism will serve to increase the respect for the Christian religion, or that its moral consequences will benefit society in general. Neither do I think it capable of becoming the universal religion of the people; whose affections and hopes require a stronger prop than the cold dictates of human morality.

Venture then to hope; and fondly dream: Yonder world shall ev'ry pledge redeem, Of your true and faithful sentiment.*

* Wage du zu hoffen und zu träumen; Wort gehalten wird in jenen Räumen, Jedem schönen gläubigen Gefühl. Schiller' *s Thekla eine Geisterstimme.*

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Thus far, it does not appear that Unitarianism has made very rapid progress in the United States. The number of its congregations is still small when compared to those of other denominations of Christians; and, as far as I am acquainted, is not on the increase. This, however, is not owing to the want of zeal in their clergymen; but principally to the doctrine itself; which does not seem to captivate the feelings and sympathies of the great mass of Americans, however it may please, and accord with, the argumentative disposition of its followers.

The most numerous religious sects in the United States are the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Baptists. The following table will exhibit a general summary of the different religious denominations in the United States:—

289 Denominations. Ministers. Churches or Congregations Communicants. Congregationalists 975 1,071 129,756 Presbyterians (Gen. Assembly) 1,914 2,648 247,964 Reformed Dutch Church 167 197 22,515 Associate Presbyterian Church 70 169 12,886 Associate Reformed Church 43 100 10,000 Cumberland Presbyterians 400 60,000 German Reformed Church 186 600 30,000 Baptists Calvinistic 3,110 5,888 384,859 Free-will Baptists 342 546 25,276 Seventh day Baptists 32 32 4,258 Six principle Baptists 12 23 2,137 Christian Baptists 300 1,000 30,000 Mennonite Baptists 200 30,000 Tunker Baptists 40 40 3,000 Methodist Episcopal Church 2,458 638,784 Methodist Protestants 70 30,000 Protestant Episcopal Church 701 800 Roman Catholic Church 340 383 Evangelical Lutheran Church 191 627 59,787 United Brethren or Moravians 33 24 2,000 Unitarians (Congregationalists) 165 187 New Jerusalem Church 33 27 Universalists 300 600 Friends or Quakers 500 Shakers or Millennial Church 45 15

This table, which, it will be perceived, is incomplete, furnishes nevertheless twelve thousand one hundred and twenty-seven ministers, fifteen thousand four hundred and seventy-seven churches, and one million seven hundred and twenty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-two communicants. The Presbyterians enumerated in the above table belong, moreover, all to New England; and there are yet a considerable VOL. I. U 290 number in the other states.—The number of Jews is computed at about fifteen thousand. It appears then that out of the whole population, including slaves and children, there are five communicants to every thirty-nine persons, one minister to every eleven hundred, and a church to every eight hundred and forty nearly.

When we reflect that no tax is imposed for the support of ministers, or the building of churches, and that consequently all those establishments are the result of voluntary contributions of the people; the conviction will certainly be forced on our minds that the Americans are deeply impressed with the importance of religious instruction, and that together with their freedom they prize nothing so high, as the sacred truths of Christianity. No more satisfactory evidence is required on this subject, than the fact that they are willing

to *pay* for it; which is certainly a singular coincidence when contrasted with the political position of other countries. If there were an established religion of state, I doubt whether half the money could be raised for its support 291 which is now cheerfully expended for the maintenance of twenty-five different doctrines.

The American ministers are continually striving to make proselytes, and, being usually paid in proportion to the number of communicants, anxious to increase the number of their respective congregations. I do not mean to say that this is the only motive of their religious ardour; but merely speak of the advantages of the system over all others, independent of the intrinsic merits of the ministers. The principle of paying most “where most work is done”, or where it is done best, which is daily producing miracles in the United States, is even applicable to the clergy; and is productive of more good to mankind than could be produced with twice the funds in any country in Europe. Not only have the Americans a greater number of clergymen than, in proportion to the population, can be found either on the Continent or in England; but they have not one idler amongst them; all of them being obliged to exert themselves for the spiritual welfare of their respective congregations. The Americans, therefore, enjoy a U 2 292 threefold advantage: they have more preachers; they have more active preachers, and they have cheaper preachers than can be found in any part of Europe.

The religious habits of the Americans form not only the basis of their private and public morals, but have become so thoroughly interwoven with their whole course of legislation, that it would be impossible to change them, without affecting the very essence of their government. Not only are the manners and habits of a people, at all times, stronger than the positive law; but the latter itself is never readily obeyed without becoming reduced to a custom. It is to the manners and habits of a nation we must look for the continuance of their government. In France, where the people have for ages been accustomed to an absolute and despotic government, where every historical monument, every palace, every work of art, nay, the very furniture of their rooms, speak monarchy, we perceive constant anomalies in society, from the legislative halls down to the meanest public resort; simply

because the people are accustomed to feel one way, and constrained to reason and act in another. They 293 possess yet the forms of religion, which have ceased to convey to them a meaning; they have yet the splendour of a throne, without any of the feelings of loyalty; they have all the titles and pretensions of their ancient nobles, with the most unbounded love of equality. Yet with all their political excitability, and their theoretical attachment to republicanism, they are constantly lulled asleep by monarchical principles, without offering any other resistance than the sensation which the fact itself produces, when set off by the pen of an editor. An Englishman or an American would *feel* the encroachment on his liberty; because it would oblige him to change his habits, which he is less prepared to do, than to surrender a positive right. American liberty is further advanced in the minds of the people than even in the laws themselves. It has become an active principle which lives with, and animates the nation, and of which their political constitution is but a *fac-simile.*

Whatever contributes to confirm a people in the habitual exercise of freedom, is an additional guarantee of its continuance; and whatever has been instrumental in procuring that freedom, or is associated with it in their minds, must be U 3 294 preserved with religious care, lest liberty itself should suffer in their estimation. This is the case with the doctrines of Christianity in the United States. Religion has been the basis of the most important American settlements; religion kept their little community together, religion assisted them in their revolutionary struggle; it was religion to which they appealed in defending their rights, and it was religion, in fine, which taught them to prize their liberties. It is with the solemnities of religion that the declaration of independence is yet annually read to the people from the pulpit, or that Americans celebrate the anniversaries of the most important events in their history. It is to religion they have recourse whenever they wish to impress the popular feeling with anything relative to their country; and it is religion which assists them in all their national undertakings. The Americans look upon religion as a promoter of civil and political liberty; and have, therefore, transferred to it a large portion of the affection which they cherish for the institutions of their country. In other countries, where religion has become the instrument of oppression, it has been the policy

of the liberal party to *diminish* 295 its influence; but in America its promotion is essential to the constitution. Religion presides over their councils, aids in the execution of the laws, and adds to the dignity of the judges. Whatever is calculated to diminish its influence and practice, has a tendency to weaken the government, and is consequently opposed to the peace and welfare of the United States. It would have a direct tendency to lessen the respect for the law, to bring disorder into their public deliberations, and to retard the administration of justice.

The deference which the Americans pay to morality is scarcely inferior to their regard for the Christian religion, and is considered to be based upon the latter. The least solecism in the moral conduct of a man is attributed to his want of religion, and is visited upon him as such. It is not the offence itself; but the outrage on society, which is punished. They see in a breach of morals a direct violation of religion; and in this, an attempt to subvert the political institutions of the country. These sentiments are all-powerful in checking the appearance of vice, even if they are not always sufficient to prevent its existence. With Argus-eyes does U 4 296 public opinion watch over the words and actions of individuals; and whatever may be their private sins, enforces at least a tribute to morality in public.

My meaning cannot be misunderstood.—It is but the open violation of the law, which comes before the forum of the judge; for our secret transgressions we shall have to account with our God. Public virtue must be guarded against the pernicious influence of example; vice must be obliged to conceal itself, in order not to tincture society in general. In this consists the true force and wholesome influence of public opinion. It becomes a mighty police-agent of morality and religion, which not only discovers crimes; but prevents their commission. The whole people of the United States are empannelled as a permanent jury to pronounce their verdict of “guilty” or “not guilty” on the conduct and actions of men, from the President down to the labourer; and there is no appeal from their decision. Public opinion may sometimes be unjust for a long time, especially in reference to politicians; but

it hardly ever remains so, and there is no injury which it inflicts, which it is not in its power to remedy.

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Another proof of the high premium at which morality is held in the United States, consists in its influence on the elections of officers. In Europe, a man of genius is almost privileged. If he be a poet or an artist, allowances are made for the extravagance of his fancy, or the peculiarity of his appetites. If he be a statesman, his individual wanderings are forgotten about the general good he bestows on the nation; if he be a soldier, the wounds he may inflict upon virtue and unguarded innocence, are pardoned for the sake of those he may have received in defending his country; and even the clergy have their offences excused, in consideration of the morals which they promote by their spiritual functions. No such compensation takes place in the United States. Private virtue overtops the highest qualifications of the mind, and is indispensable to the progress even of the most acknowledged talents. This, in many instances, clips the wings of genius; by substituting a decent mediocrity in the place of brilliant but vicious talents; but the nation at large is nevertheless a gainer in the practice.

It must be remembered that the Americans are already in possession of most political advantages 298 other nations are striving to obtain; and that their principal care, therefore, is rather to *preserve* what they have acquired, than to enlarge their possessions; and for this purpose virtue and honest simplicity are infinitely preferable to the ambitious designs of towering talents. If morality, which is now the common law of the country, were once to be dispensed with in favour of certain individuals, if the exactions which are now made of every member of the community, were to relax with regard to the peculiarly gifted, then the worst and most dangerous aristocracy would be introduced; which would not only shake the foundation of society, but eventually subvert the government. Talent in a republic must be valued principally in proportion as it is calculated to promote public good; every

additional regard for it enriches only the possessor; and the Americans are too prudent a people, to enrich and elevate individuals, with the property and wealth of the nation.

The moment a candidate is presented for office, not only his mental qualifications for the functions he is about to assume, but also his private character are made the subject of criticism. 299 Whatever he may have done, said, or listened to, from the time he left school to the present moment, is sure to be brought before the public. The most trifling incidents which are calculated to shed a light on his motives, or habits of thinking, are made the subject of the most uncompromising scrutiny; and facts and circumstances, already buried in oblivion, are once more brought before the judging eye of the people. This, undoubtedly, gives rise to a vast deal of personal abuse and scurrility, and may even disturb the domestic peace of families; but then the candidates for office are comparatively few, while the people, who are to be benefitted or injured by their election, are many; they are all presenting themselves of their own accord, and the people compelled to be their judges; they have friends to defend and extol their virtues, and they must therefore expect to have enemies, who will endeavour to tarnish their fair reputation. We may have pity on a repentant culprit; we may be roused to indignation by the condemnation of an innocent person: but we would not, on that account, abolish the trial by jury; or shut our courts of justice, which are instituted not only for the punishment, but also 300 for the prevention of crime. The process of an American election resembles that of a Roman canonization: the candidate must be fairly snatched from the clutches of the devil's advocate, before he can be admitted to the unrestrained enjoyment of paradise. If, in this manner, some are prevented from becoming saints, who have a just title to that dignity; it may also serve to prevent a heathen worship of idols, which would divert the people from the true faith.

It is an erroneous maxim, to consider American institutions as they are calculated to affect individuals: they are made for the people, and intended to benefit the majority. The consideration of quality must necessarily, in many instances, yield to the reflection on quantity; and a small benefit extended to large numbers, be preferred to a signal advantage conferred on a favoured few. The American government possessing little

coercive power, cannot introduce sudden changes either for the better or worse, and is, therefore, less able to correct an abuse if it is once introduced and sanctioned by the majority, than any other government in the 301 world.* It is consequently of the greatest importance that public morality should be preserved at any price; and that the people themselves should compose the tribunal, before which the offenders are to be tried. It is their noblest privilege to be themselves the guardians of their moral and religious rights, without which their political immunities would soon become crippled and destroyed. In this manner they will not always secure the greatest talents, but generally the moral integrity of their leaders; they will not easily sacrifice peace to national glory, but promote the tranquil happiness of millions; their career will not be one of brilliant triumph, but it will be less sullied with political crimes; they will not give birth to a Cæsar or an Augustus, but be spared the mourning for Brutus.

* De Tocqueville entertains directly the opposite opinion; but seems to have considered this matter rather in a *legal* than an *historical* point of view. The laws may easily change; but not the *habits of the people*, after they have once been generally adopted.

Morality, in America, is not only required of a statesman; but is equally necessary in every occupation of life. The merchant who employs a clerk, the master-workman who employs 302 a journeyman, the gentleman who hires a servant will all make morality an indispensable condition of contract. In this they are as much guided by their own choice, as by the opinions of their neighbours and the community in general. An inferior workman of “steady habits” is almost always preferred to one possessed of the highest business qualifications, but with a doubtful moral character. Thus, a married man will be sooner trusted than one who is single; because “he has given hostage to fortune”, and possesses what Bacon calls “an impediment to mischief.” A man of sober habits will be sooner employed than one addicted to intemperance; and a clumsy, but moral servant will more readily obtain a situation, than one who is expert and vicious. Religion will, in all, be considered as a pledge of morality; and a lax observance of religious duties, as a bad index to their private virtues. In short, morality and religion are as indispensable to the

labouring classes in the United States, as powerful and well-formed limbs and a correct use of the understanding. They will often atone for a variety of other imperfections; but without them every other qualification becomes 303 useless, and only serves to aggravate the despair of success.

There is one particular sentiment pervading all classes of Americans, which, though something similar exists in England, is in no other country carried to the same extent, or productive of the same consequences. I mean the universal respect for women, and the protection offered them, to whatever order of society they may belong. *Ladies* are respected, or rather command respect, every where, especially in England; but in no country are the penalties fixed by the law, or the received customs of society, on a breach of decorum, so severe as in the United States. The commission of such an offence not only excludes a man from respectable society; but influences his business, his character, his reputation, his prospects in life, and every reasonable chance of success. No rank or standing proves sufficient to protect him against the denunciations of the public; no repentance can atone for an offence once known to the world. Of all the crimes against society, the Americans seem to be bent upon visiting this with the most unrelenting severity; of all that 304 obtain forgiveness this alone seems to form an exception.

Neither is this protection, as I have said before, only offered to ladies, or to those whose education and family entitle them to particular consideration, as is the case in Europe; it extends to all classes without distinction, and is even more favourable to the lower orders, than to those who are supposed to be above them.

If a man of fortune and reputation were to ruin an innocent girl, or be guilty of a breach of promise, were it but to a waiting-woman, it would no less affect his standing in society and expose him to the revenge of the public. Neither ladies nor gentlemen would plead his cause; and his only chance of escape from punishment, would be to satisfy the injured party.

Where a feeling of this kind is so general, and acts alike on every member of society, it cannot be the result of a mere polite etiquette; but must be based on a *principle* which is deeply rooted in the mind, and forms part of the national code of morals. Its advantages in promoting early marriages, and preserving the sanctity of the marriage vow, are incalculable, and are the best comment on the rapid increase of population 305 and the domestic happiness, which is enjoyed throughout the United States.

Let us compare this to the state of public morals in Europe. A gentleman being guilty of a breach of promise, or an offence still more heinous, with regard to a *lady* , will be called to an account by her relations or friends; he will have to settle the matter “as a man of honour;” and if he be so lucky as to escape uninjured, the affair is brought to an end. At the next drawing-room he will appear with additional *éclat;* there will be something *distingué* in his whole carriage and manners; while the most kindhearted of the ladies will consider him a gentleman of “high spirit,” and rather the more interesting, “as he has got himself into difficulty.” He will, for a time, become the hero of society; where his first success will only facilitate, the road to his next conquest.

If a young man of rank and expectations should happen to injure a woman in an inferior rank of life, the matter will be only considered as something a young gentleman is hardly able to avoid; or he will be pitied for his want of refinement in not making a better selection. And the woman? “Why! she must have been a VOL. I. H 306 fool to believe him. Why did she raise her expectations so high? She could not, in her senses, believe he would marry her.” In short, the case is dismissed, as being too uninteresting to deserve a moment's attention.

An injured gentleman fares hardly better. He becomes the object of ridicule; while his rival moves on in his career, and has scarcely another consolation left than that which belongs to all misery—of suffering in common with others. The *Code Napoleon* , and subsequently the *Code Français* , have very wisely abandoned this matter “to the censure of public

opinion." There is a case in which the best law becomes useless; and this is when it is impossible to obtain justice *from want of an impartial jury.*

I consider the domestic virtue of the Americans as the principal source of all their other qualities. It acts as a promoter of industry, as a stimulus to enterprise, and as the most powerful restrainer of public vice. It reduces life to its simplest elements, and makes happiness less dependent on precarious circumstances; it ensures the proper education of children, and acts, by the force of example, on the morals of the rising generation; in short, it does more for the 307 preservation of peace and good order, than all the laws enacted for that purpose; and is a better guarantee for the permanency of the American government, than any written instrument, the constitution itself not excepted.

No government could be established on the same principle as that of the United States, with a different code of morals. The American Constitution is remarkable for its simplicity; but it can only suffice a people habitually correct in their actions; and would be utterly inadequate to the wants of a different nation. Change the domestic habits of the Americans, their religious devotion, and their high respect for morality, and it will not be necessary to change a single letter of the Constitution in order to vary the whole form of their government. The circumstances being altered, the same causes would no longer produce the same effects; and it is more than probable, that the disparity which would then exist between the laws and the habits of those whom they are destined to govern, would not only make a different government desirable, but absolutely necessary, to preserve the nation from ruin.

The moral and domestic habits of the Americans X 2 308 must necessarily exercise an important influence on the acquisition and accumulation of property. A single man encounters often more difficulties in making his way through the world, than one whose early marriage has increased his stimulus to exertion. The man who has a family is doubly pledged to virtue; and has in every additional member, a monitor to industry and frugality. In a country, like America, where so much depends on individual enterprise, the effect

of it, when anyways ably directed, can never long remain doubtful; especially when it is seconded and approved of by the community in general. Accordingly, there are but few single men largely engaged in commerce or any other kind of enterprise, and less who, in that state, are capable of accumulating fortunes. The most enterprising merchants and ship-owners, the first manufacturers, and the proprietors of the largest estates in the country, are married men; and what is still more remarkable, have acquired their property, not before, but after, their marriage.

This example of prosperity in the marriage-state, and the consequently greater facilities of credit of married men, act as a premium on 309 matrimony; and enable men to provide for their wives and children who, without them, might have been unable to provide for themselves. But when the foundation of a fortune is once laid, its increase and accumulation follow as a matter of course; unless some unexpected calamity should blast the hope of success. The moment a man is known to have acquired a little property by his own industry, he receives credit for ingenuity and perseverance, and is trusted on account of these virtues. His means become, in this manner, much more enlarged than his estate; and it depends chiefly on the resources of his own mind, what advantages he will draw from his position.

But if the acquisition and accumulation of property in the United States is made comparatively easy, and credit given to those who succeed in it, a proportionally larger discredit must attach itself to those who are unfortunate and poor; and this is really carried to a melancholy extent, although, from the unexampled prosperity of the country, there are few to whom it will apply. A man, in America, is not despised for being poor in the outset—three-fourths of all that are rich have begun in the same way;—but X 3 310 every year which passes, without adding to his prosperity, is a reproach to his understanding or industry; and if he should become old without having acquired some property, or showing reasons which prevented his success,—if he should not enjoy a reputation as a scholar or a professional man,—then I am afraid he will be doubly punished:—by his own helpless situation, and the want of sympathy in others. But in this case, it is not the

want of property, which deprives him of the consideration of his fellow-beings: it is the want of talent, ingenuity, perseverance, or enterprise, which might have insured his success. Hence an American will seldom complain of losses, want of business, or prosperity in general. The sympathy he might create in his friends would rather injure than benefit him; and would, at best, but destroy his credit with the rest. In the United States, if a man has made a bad bargain, he is sure to keep the secret to himself, lest his business talent should be doubted; if he has been unfortunate in a speculation, he will find a remedy in another, without lamenting the loss; and should he even be ruined, he will put on a good face, arrange himself with his creditors, and start anew, cautioned by his former experience.

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This habit, of depending chiefly on themselves, produces in the Americans a spirit of independence, scarcely to be found in any other nation. It stifles complaints of all sorts; makes them support heavy times and calamities with patience; and inspires them with hope and energy when oppressed with loss and misfortunes. During a residence of many years in the United States, I have had frequent intercourse with all classes of society, but do not remember having heard a single individual complain of misfortunes; and I have never known a native American to ask for charity. No country in the world has such a small number of persons supported at the public expense; and of that small number one half are foreign paupers. An American, embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, can hardly be prevailed upon to ask or accept the assistance of his own relations; and will, in many instances, scorn to have recourse to his own parents. Even an unsuccessful politician will leave the field without a groan, not to appear overcome by his antagonist; and, whatever be his secret anguish, show a bright countenance to the public. Happiness and prosperity are so *popular* in the United States, that no one dares to show himself X 4 312 an exception to the rule; and avoiding carefully the semblance of misfortune, they generally succeed in reality, and become that which they have always been striving to appear.

Another feature of the American character, which is evidently entailed upon them from the English, is their unbounded respect for the law. Notwithstanding the frequent accounts of disturbances (which for the most part are so exaggerated as scarcely to bear a semblance to truth), there exists in the United States an universal submission to the law, and a prompt obedience to the magistrates, which, with the exception of Great Britain, is not to be found in any other country. If there be but a small force required in England to put down the popular fury, nothing of the kind exists at all in America; and we ought, therefore, not to wonder if, with the more frequent causes of popular excitement, and the total absence of any armed power to restrain it, there sometimes occur excesses, which disturb the public peace.

The lower classes in England are never called upon for an expression of their political sentiments, while in most of the states of the American Union, every man is entitled to vote, and 313 becomes, by the constitution of his country, a judge of the actions of his rulers. His feelings, and his worst passions, are constantly appealed to by political leaders and the press, and it requires a forbearance, which the operative classes in Europe can hardly be supposed to possess, in order, on trying occasions, to abstain from abusing these privileges. The American riots, moreover, which are so much the subject of conversation in England, hardly ever originate with the lower classes themselves; but are instigated by political partisans to forward their individual designs. They operate for this purpose on foreigners, who are too short a time in the United States to have made themselves acquainted with the law, and whose strange credulity is easily excited into abusive conduct.

But what are these riots, after all, but infringements on the police regulations of the cities:—an improper expression of popular feelings on some vexatious occasion, *without the least attempt to effect a change in the law.* Compare to this the horrible scenes of the Manchester and Bristol riots in England! When has it been known that the lower classes in America disturbed the legislative assemblies, encroached on the dignity 314 of the

judges, refused to pay the taxes assessed by their representatives, or offered a permanent resistance to the law? The disorderly conduct above alluded to, is produced without premeditation, on the spur of the moment, and passes, like an April shower, without leaving a vestige of its occurrence. The damages, on such occasions, consist in one or two broken heads, and some black eyes, for which a proper fine is exacted; and the matter is dismissed from the court, as it is from the mind of the public, to engross the speculations of Europeans, who may feel concerned for the safety of America.

If, instead of reading the exaggerated accounts of them in the American papers (which are generally coloured for a party purpose), one will only pay attention to facts, and consider the small number of persons which, on such occasions, are arraigned and found guilty of wilfully disturbing the peace, he will soon be convinced that “the awful outrage on public decency” was committed by half a dozen intoxicated labourers, such as are nightly taken up in the streets of London, and dismissed, the next day, on paying the drunkard's penalty of “five shillings to the King.” I have no hesitation to 315 advance the opinion that all the magistrates of the city of New York are not, in this respect, as much occupied in a year, as some of the London magistrates in six months; and yet I would consider my person and property as much protected in London, as in any other city on the globe.

Another argument in favour of the peace-loving spirit of the Americans, consists in the fact of their preserving public order, notwithstanding the attempts to infringe upon it, by a few unruly persons, with no other means at their command, than their own good intentions, and the willingness of all classes, to assist the officers of justice. No military force is employed for this purpose. The riots are quelled by the civil magistrates, assisted by the people, without the aid of an armed police. It is always the people themselves, who protect the peace and watch over the execution of the law; and as long as the public mind remains uncontaminated with the spirit of disorder, no fears need be entertained of any serious disturbances. To one rioter there are a thousand admirers of order, and a thousand more ready to preserve it with all the power in their hands. It remains yet to 316 be observed, that in none of the riots which have taken place in the United States,

the people manifested the least disposition for plunder. They have sometimes destroyed the private property of individuals, but in no instance shown the least design to enrich themselves by it; and there is, consequently, not a shadow of truth in the assertion, that there is “a war between the poor and the rich,” originating in the hatred and envy of the former, of the superior advantages of the wealthy.

A favourite habit of many American editors is to charge all manner of riots to the turbulent spirit of the Irish. This is at once getting rid of the question, by transferring the guilt to the “foreign paupers;” and is, at least, proving the fact, that if the poor are not always guilty of crimes, they may at least with impunity be suspected. If it be true that public peace is disturbed only by persons of the lowest occupation in life, and that the Irish, from their poverty, are often obliged to resort to the most menial labour in order to procure a living, it will readily be conceived that, on all such occasions, they are *likely to be amongst the number* of the guilty, without being themselves either the 317 *instigators* or the *principal actors* in the riot. But it is also a well known fact, that many of the constables, in all the large cities, on the Atlantic, are Irish, or of Irish extraction; and it is equally true, that whenever the peace of those cities is disturbed, these Irish officers are amongst the most active in endeavouring to re-establish it. If the Irish are charged with the commission of popular crime, because they are sometimes among the number of offenders, it is but just to take public notice of their virtue, when it is employed in checking its progress.

To one more fact I must refer before I dismiss this subject:—the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charleston, near Boston. I shall not enlarge on the fact itself, as it is already sufficiently known to my readers; but I would remark, that this was certainly not done by the Irish, and was in itself sufficient to provoke their utmost temper, and worst passions. Yet, how have they borne it?—The city of Boston is supposed to contain upwards of ten thousand Irish, principally servants and day-labourers; and there were besides a large number of them employed on the rail-roads adjacent to that town. No armed force was stationed about the city, 318 although watch was kept by private citizens, in order to give the alarm, in case of a popular movement. The tranquillity, however, was not disturbed

for one moment, nor the least demonstration made of an attempt to rise in a body. Was this proving the turbulent spirit of the Irish? or the impossibility of governing them by laws? All that was done to calm their excitement, consisted in a meeting of some of the most respectable citizens, to express their indignation at the outrage which had been done to society, and more particularly to the feelings of the catholics:—and this honest declaration was sufficient to soothe the minds of “the unruly, the turbulent Irish.” The conduct of the citizens of Boston was undoubtedly praiseworthy, and well calculated to reconcile the feelings of the injured: they gave on that occasion a new proof of their wisdom and experience in all matters relative to the administration of justice; but this cannot diminish the credit due to the moderation of the Irish, and the forbearance which they manifested on an appeal to their better feelings. I happened to be in Boston at that time, and was more than ever struck with the truth that *justice is the best peace-maker among nations.*

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I have said before that notwithstanding the occurrence of popular disturbances, the Americans, as a nation, have a great respect for the law; they are indeed too enlightened not to set, themselves, an example of obedience to the legal authorities of their country. They know full well, that the minor laws being once infringed upon, the general government is in danger. They understand admirably the connection which exists between the most subordinate authority of the country, and the highest administrative functions. In America it is the common interest of all, which requires submission to the law; for it is the majority who are offended, when an insult is offered to the government.

The people must naturally be a more jealous sovereign than a king protected by his crown: they have no power to pardon offences against their majesty, and if they had, they could not exercise it without danger of destroying themselves. Clemency is more frequently a virtue of kings, than a characteristic distinction of a nation. It is the majority which governs and makes the law in a democratic republic; and opposition to it must therefore necessarily offend the people. No such opposition can, by any chance, become 320 popular; because the state of public opinion is too well known to leave the majority doubtful. If, in America,

there were a strong aristocracy, who should have the power of making the law for the people;—then resistance to it might have a majority in its favour, and disobedience be protected by the influence of the largest number. No immediate prospect, however, of such a state of things exists in the United States; and as long as the majority govern, the majority must be in favour of the law; and the minority deprived of the power of resisting it.

There exists but one practice in the United States, which seems to be at variance with what I have thus far advanced; and yet, upon further consideration, I am almost inclined to consider it as a part of the common law of the country. I would refer to the “Lynch law,” of which the most brilliant accounts are furnished in the British papers. The Lynch law of America, it must be remembered, is not a child of democracy; it is of a much more ancient and illustrious origin, and occurs already in the early history of the colonies. It was begot in those happy times, in which religious customs took the 321 place of the law; and in which the ingenuity of the settlers recurred to the simplest means of obtaining the most summary justice. It is, in fact, of a patriarchal nature, having for its motto the wisdom of Solomon,—“Do not spare the rod.” The pilgrim fathers, who settled the New England States, were a highly religious people; with whom the authority of the elders of the Church was of more avail, than any positive law of Great Britain; which from its distance, and the manner in which it had been abused into an instrument of oppression, had considerably lost of its force. Their little community was more governed by mutual agreement and consent, than by any written code, except that to which their ministers pointed, as leading the way to salvation. The Bible furnished them with precedents of the cheap, easy, and salutary correction of flogging; and there was no reason why their legislators should have attempted to improve upon the wisdom of Moses.

The custom being once introduced and found expedient, was gradually increased in severity as the rigid morals of the puritans began to relax; until, towards the American Revolution, when abuses had reached their climax, the original VOL. I. Y 322 method of “tarring and feathering” was substituted for the more lenient punishment of the rod. The commencement being made with the excisemen in Boston, was soon imitated in the other

provinces; and being at first employed in a patriotic cause, created an universal prejudice in its favour. It became a national custom which, as far as I remember, was only used in cases, more or less directly affecting the people. Thus, whenever an individual gave a national insult, or did or practised any thing which threatened the peace and happiness of the people, they recurred to it as a domestic remedy; but I am quite certain not with the intention of opposing the regular law. They only resorted to it *ad interim* , till the regular physician could be called in; and in most cases effected a *radical cure* , without paying for the attendance of the doctor. In this manner, the Lynch law was executed on gamblers, disorderly persons, and latterly also on a certain species of itinerant ministers, who, a little too anxious for the emancipation of the Negroes in the Southern States, had betaken themselves to preaching the doctrine of *revenge* , instead of that of the *atonement* * ,

* Some of these itinerant preachers absolutely called on the negroes to disobey the commands of their masters, and to rise in open rebellion, to achieve their political freedom.

323 and thereby forced the good people, to apply the doctrine to those, who evinced the most zeal for its propagation. But as I have said before, the Lynch law, is not, properly speaking, an opposition to the established laws of the country, or, is at least, not contemplated as such by its adherents; but rather as a supplement to them,—a species of *common* law, which is as old as the country, and which, whatever may be the notion of “the *learned* in the law,” has nevertheless been productive of some of the happiest results. I am aware there are different versions of the origin of “Lynch;” but the above will be found to contain the essence and philosophy of all.

It remains for me yet to say something of the benevolent feelings of Americans, and of the national efforts which have been made in the United States, for the suppression of vice, and the progress of virtue, not only in their own country, but in every quarter of the world. One of the most prominent of these, consists in the Y 2 324 ardour with which they have laboured for the suppression of intemperance, and the astonishing results which they have produced, since the commencement of this noble enterprise. The origin and progress of their proceedings are too illustrative of the American character, and

have had too important an influence on the efforts of philanthropical societies in Europe, not to interest an English reader; and I will therefore venture to give a short account of them, taken principally from the “Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society,” published at Boston, in the year 1835. It will strongly corroborate my assertion of the necessity of combining morality with religion, or making the latter the practical foundation of the former; and the political proceedings of the country, the regular sequel to both.

The first public meeting for the suppression of intemperance was called at Boston only as late as the month of February, 1824, when the question was proposed,— *What shall be done to banish intemperance from the United States?*

After prayer “for Divine guidance,” and 325 consultation on the subject, the result was a determination to form an “American Temperance Society,” whose grand principle should be abstinence from strong drink; and its object, “by light and love,” to change the habits of the nation with regard to the use of intoxicating liquors. After stating the reasons for their determination, among which there was this, that *without trying to remove the evil, they could not free themselves from the guilt of its effects* , they resolved unanimously,—

1st. “That it is expedient that more systematic and vigorous efforts be made, by the Christian public, to restrain and prevent the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors.

2nd. “That an individual of acknowledged talents, piety, industry, and sound judgment should be selected and employed as a permanent agent, to spend his time, and use his best exertions, for the suppression and prevention of the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors.”

A committee was then appointed to prepare a constitution, and the meeting was adjourned to February 13, 1826. At that meeting a constitution was presented and adopted, the officers chosen, and the resolution agreed to,— Y 3

“That the gentlemen composing this meeting pledge themselves to the “American Society for the Promotion of Temperance,” that they will use all their exertions in carrying into effect the benevolent plan of the society.”

On the 12th of March following they met, and, after choosing eighty-four additional members from the Northern and Middle States, presented an address to the people, in which they stated that after deliberate and devout attention to the subject, they had resolved, “ *in the strength of the Lord, and with a view to the account which they must render to Him for the influence they exert in this world* ,” to make a vigorous, united and persevering effort to produce a change of public sentiment and practice with regard to the use of intoxicating liquors; and at the same time, called upon the wealthy and influential men in the country, to assist them in procuring funds for this purpose. This call was heartily responded to, at first, by the people of New England, and subsequently by every other state of the Union.

In January, 1827, the corresponding secretary of the society visited Boston, to obtain means for the support of a permanent agent. At 327 the first meeting for that purpose, though the weather was exceedingly stormy, the amount subscribed was 3,500 dollars (700 *l.* sterling); at the second, 1200 (240 *l.* sterling) more; and at the third, 700 (140 *l.*). In the adjacent villages 7000 dollars were additionally subscribed.

At the close of the year 1829, there had already been formed and reported more than 1,000 societies, embracing more than 100,000 members; more than 50 distilleries had been stopped, more than 400 merchants had renounced the traffic, and more than 1,200 drunkards had been reformed. So great became the influence of public opinion, even on the minds of common sailors, that on board the United States sloop of war “Falmouth,” seventy of the men abstained from ardent spirits; and between forty and fifty on board the “Brandywine” frigate. A later report shows that, out of the whole ship's company of that

frigate, only 160 men drew their grog, and from January 1, 1830, till January 1, 1831, 150 vessels had left the port of Boston without carrying ardent spirits.

On the 1st of May, 1831, the number of Y 4 328 temperance societies had already increased to 2,200, and that of the members to 170,000; which gives an addition of 1,200 societies with 70,000 members, in the space of less than two years! From their influence, and the state of public opinion, it was computed that 300,000 more had adopted the plan of not using strong drinks, or furnishing them for the use of others; 1,000 distilleries had been stopped, and the use of brandy or whisky excluded from more than 100 public houses.

The next year's report, containing the history of the society, and its operations from the commencement, as also the reason “why its principles should be extended through the world,” was stereotyped and distributed through all parts of the United States, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. It was also sent to Mexico and South America; to England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Germany, Malta, Palestine, and the Sandwich Islands; imitating, in this respect, the benevolent efforts of the British Bible Society, for the Promotion of the Christian faith.

In 1832 a successful effort was made by the clergy, to exclude drunkards from the communion 329 table, and to introduce the subject of temperance into the sermons to be preached on the sabbath. The appeal of the society in favour of these measures, contained in their “Annual Report,” is a singular specimen of American eloquence; from which I cannot refrain to give some valuable extracts:—

“Never was an idea further from the truth, than that which represents the Temperance Reformation as only a secular concern, affecting principally the body; or confined in its influence to this world, or to time; to be discussed only on the week day, and that as a matter of convenience, expediency, or domestic comfort, pecuniary profit, or reputation, or respectability. Its principal influence, and that which in importance eclipses and swallows

up every other, is upon the soul and for eternity. As much as the soul is worth more than the body, as much as eternity is longer than time, so much more important is its influence on the soul than on the body, and with regard to eternity than with regard to time. And till its influence on the character, prospects, and destiny of the soul for eternity shall be exhibited on the sabbath, from the pulpit, by the ministers of Christ, to every distiller and trafficker, 330 and user of the drunkard's poison in the land, who does not, on account of doing evil, so hate the light, as to refuse to come to it, this engine of death eternal will not cease to operate, nor this citadel of Satan be demolished. Ministers may think that they could not be supported without the avails of the distillery, and the dramshop, or the countenance of those who furnish or support them; and churches may think that it is not ecclesiastical for them to move, or for their members to act on the subject; and both may hope that other temperance agents, or societies will do the work, and accomplish the object without their assistance, and that they had better say nothing, and do nothing, but mourn in secret, and pray; though church members continue to carry on the traffic, and cause thousands eternally to die: yet it is not so." "No minister of Christ," says the author, "in doing the work of Christ, needs the gains of ungodliness; and no church of Christ is strengthened or sanctified by having rum-makers, and rum-sellers, and rum-drinkers for members. None such formed the family of the Saviour, the company of his apostles, or any of that bright constellation, who, in their day, 331 through faith and patience, entered in, and took possession of the promises. They were men of another sort. They could not look up to God and pray, "Lead us not into temptation," and then go away and tempt their fellow-men to ruin, and yet hope for his favour. They felt bound to do to others as they would that God should do to them. And if they did not strive to use their influence, not to corrupt and destroy, but to save others, they knew that God would not save them. Nor will he save any, who are not in this respect like them. In vain will they plead their connection with the Church, in arrest of condemnation for destroying their fellow-men. And if they continue that work of death, and the Church continues to hold them within its sacred enclosure, and spread over them the protecting banner of the cross, she will be judged as accessory, and held responsible for the mighty ruin. And when the overflowing scourge

shall pass through, judgment will begin where, had reformation began and continued, it had brought out salvation at the house of God."

"And whether the rainbow of mercy which has begun to appear, shall extend and encircle the world, or earth be enveloped in blackness 332 and darkness, now, under Christ, hangs on the decision of the Church which he has purchased with his own precious blood. Let her members extract from the bounties of his kindness, the material for burning out the consciences of their fellow-men,—let them set it on fire, apply it, and make it a business to spread it through the community, and the smoke of their torment will cover the whole earth, and spread through all its dwellings darkness, lamentation, and mourning, and woe. A fire in God's anger will burn perpetrators of such wickedness, even to the lowest hell. They would keep the jewels from the crown of his Son, and ruin the souls for whom he died."

"But let ministers of the churches do their duty, free themselves from all participation in, or connivance at iniquity, and let them, by *light* and *love* , poured out kindly and perpetually, labour to persuade all, from supreme regard to God, and good will to men, to do the same, and the night of woe and of ages will pass away, and the Sun of righteousness, arising in his glory, will pour round the globe the life and the bliss of universal and unceasing day."

"And when Ethiopia is rising and stretching out her hands, and the isles of the sea are receiving 333 and obeying God's laws when China is struggling to keep off death from her people— *Iceland* in supplication for deliverance is *melting* ;* and the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain—when the Saviour, with a voice which pervades creation, is proclaiming. Who is on the Lord's side?—Who?—and the universe looks with intense gaze to witness the result;—and when a single individual, by coming out openly and decidedly on the Lord's side, and sacrificing in a single instance, money to duty, may roll a wave of salvation on the other side of the globe† ;—shall professed members of that church which Christ has bought with his blood, take part with the enemy of all good, and assist in perpetuating his dark and dismal reign over souls, to endless ages?—If they do,

God will write, for the universe to look at, *To whom they yield themselves servants to obey, his servants they are.* ‡ And

* In all those countries temperance societies have been formed.

† This refers to a dealer in ardent spirits who emptied the contents of his casks into the street; being unwilling either to *sell* or *give away* poison.

‡ This was the text of many sermons, preached during the revolutionary war.

334 the Register, in blazing capitals, will be eternal. And though men who continue knowingly and habitually to do evil, and to hate the light, may, in this world, refuse to come to it, and when it approaches them may attempt to flee away; in the future world it will blaze upon them, in one unclouded vision of infinite brightness, and show the hearts of all who persevere in wickedness to be more black than darkness itself for ever."

In another place the author is still more figurative and impressive. Alluding to the sermons to be preached on the Sabbath against intemperance, he says,

"There is reason to believe that thousands and tens of thousands are now impenitent, unbelieving, and on their way to second death, who, had it not been for the sale of ardent spirits, had been ripening for glory, and honour, and immortality, and eternal life; and that tens of thousands more have passed the boundary of hope, and are weeping and wailing, who, had it not been for this, might have been in heaven. And, in view of such things, shall we be told that temperance is only a secular concern? that it affects only the bodies of men, not their 335 souls; and is a concern which relates to time only, not to eternity? that it ought not to be discussed from the pulpit on the Sabbath? Should Satan cause this to be believed, he would perpetuate intemperance to the end of the world. Shall the fires which make these poisons burn on the Sabbath, and the use of it tend to counteract all the merciful designs of Jehovah, in establishing that holy day? Shall Jehovah be insulted (!) by the appearance in the sanctuary of men, who use it on the Sabbath, and yet the Sabbath not be occupied by light and love to abolish the use of it? Shall it cause the word

of the Lord, even from the pulpit, to fall as upon a rock, instead of being as the rain and the snow, that come down from heaven and water the earth, and thousands who might be trees of righteousness, in the Garden of the Lord, to stand like the heath in the desert, not seeing good when good comes, and yet the pulpit be dumb? or speak only on week days, when those who traffic in it have so much to do in furnishing the poison, that they have no time, and less inclination, to hear. If Satan can cause this to be believed, and those who manufacture, sell, and use the 336 weapons of his warfare, and multiply the trophies of his victory, not hear of their sin on the Sabbath, when God speaks to the conscience, or be entreated from the pulpit, his mercy's seat, by the tears and blood of a Saviour, to flee from coming damnation, the adversary will keep possession of his strong hold. Church members will garrison it, and provision it, and fight for him. From the communion table he will muster recruits, and find officers in those who distribute the elements to fight his battles, perpetuate his warfare, and people with increasing numbers his dark domains to the end of time.

“If we may not, in this warfare fight, on the Lord's day, when he himself goes forth to the battle, and commands on the field,—if we may not use his weapons, forged in heaven; and from the high place of erection, pour them down *thick* , *heavy* , and *hot* upon the enemy, we may fight till we die, and he will esteem our iron as straw, and our brass as rotten wood; our darts he will count as stubble, and laugh at the glittering of our spear. Leviathan is not so tamed. There is no coping with him; but with weapons of heavenly temper from the 337 armoury of Jehovah, on the day when he goes forth, and creation, at his command, stands still to witness the conflict. Then it is, as conscience kindled from above, blazes, and thunders in the heart of the enemy, that he is consumed by the breath of the Almighty, and destroyed by the brightness of his coming.”

This specimen of eloquence, which for its strength and quaint pathos might rival the Capuchin's sermon in Schiller's “Wallenstein,” or be ascribed to the immortal genius of Abraham *a Sancta Clara* , exhibits, in the most striking manner, the influence of religion on public morals, and the fact that the Americans, far from having abandoned their puritanical

notions of decency and propriety, are yet able, on important occasions, to bring the whole force of religious argument to bear on them; a circumstance which not only insures the continuance of their present customs and manners, but, by virtue of these, also of their political institutions.

During the year 1831 there had been added 50,000 members to the Temperance Society of the State of New York alone. In several counties the increase had been 200 per cent. VOL. I. Z 338 These societies printed 350,000 circulars; and sent them to every family in the state, inviting each member, who had come to years of understanding, to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, and to unite with a temperance society. They also printed and sent round 100,000 “Constitutions for Family Temperance Societies,” in which the members were to pledge themselves not only not to use ardent spirits themselves, but not to suffer them to be used in their families, or presented to their friends, or to those in their employment, except for medical purposes. Those who were, or afterwards were to become, heads of familes, were to pledge themselves to teach their household the principle of entire abstinence, and to use their best endeavours to obtain their signatures to the Constitution. They were also to agree to place a copy of that Constitution in their family Bible, to which their children should be often pointed, as containing the will of their parents, and they were to engage them, as they revered the memory of their parents, sacredly to regard those sentiments.

In that year it was computed that 1,500,000 people in the United States abstained from the use of ardent spirits, and from the furnishing of 339 it for the use of others; there were 4,000 temperance societies, embracing 500,000 members; 1,500 distilleries had been stopped; 4,000 merchants hadceased to traffic in spirits; and 4,500 drunkards had been reformed.

Nor were the efforts confined to individuals alone. On the 5th of November, 1832, the Adjutant-General issued an order prohibiting the further issue of ardent spirits to the troops of the United States, as a component part of their rations, and substituted 8 *lbs.* of

sugar and 4 *lbs.* of coffee for every one hundred rations, as an equivalent for the ardent spirit formerly in use; or, at those posts where the troops might prefer it, 10 *lbs.* of rice to every one hundred rations, in lieu of eight quarters of beans allowed by the then existing regulations. The same order prohibited also the introduction of ardent spirits into any fort, camp, or garrison of the United States, and the selling of them by any sutlers to the troops.

In the month of December following the committee issued circulars inviting the people of all states to *a national convention* , to be held in Philadelphia on the 24th day of May, 1833.

In February, 1833, a “Congressional Temperance Z 2 340 Meeting” was held at the Capitol of Washington, at which Mr. Lewis Cass, then secretary of war (but now minister plenipotentiary of the United States to the court of France), presided, and where the following remarkable resolution was adopted:—

“Resolved, as the sense of this meeting, *that the liberty and welfare of the nation are intimately and indissolubly connected with the morals and virtues of the people:* and that, in the enactment of laws for the common benefit, it is equally the duty of the legislative body *to guard and preserve the public morals from corruption* , as to advance the pecuniary interest, or to maintain the civil rights and freedom of the community.”

Mr. Felix Grundy, senator, from Tennessee, invited them not to stop there; he requested them to have their facts and arguments printed and circulated all over the country. “Let it be seen,” continued he, “by the whole American people, that men in high places, men whom the people have elevated to represent them in the Congress of the United States, are the friends, the patrons, the active, zealous, and persevering promoters of the cause of temperance. Let them see that this blessed 341 cause has taken possession of the capitol, and that it will hold possession; and from this elevated spot, this stronghold of liberty, will extend itself over the whole country.”

The American Temperance Society contained in that year 2,000,000 of members, out of an aggregate population of about 15,000,000, of which 2,000,000 are slaves; consequently, *every third man* in the country was engaged in suppressing intemperance.

On the last Tuesday, 1834, the “American Congressonial Temperance Society” held its anniversary at the Capitol, and in that same year the number of societies had increased to 7000; the same number of merchants had ceased to sell ardent spirits; more than 1000 vessels belonging to the United States had sailed without them; and an insurance company in Boston agreed to return five per cent. on the premium of every vessel which had been navigated without grog: 4,500,000 temperance tracts had been printed by the “New York State Temperance Society” alone; and addresses were published, in that same year, “to moderate drinkers, and those who furnish spirits to moderate drinkers,” to “ministers of the Gospel of every Z 3 342 name and in every country,” and “to the members of the churches of Christ of every denomination throughout the world,” to invite them to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent the traffic in them; and the society could finally close its Eighth Annual Report with the joyful hope of seeing their labours rewarded, expressed in these terms:—

“Great voices shall be heard in Heaven, saying Alleluia; for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. Peace shall flow as a river, and righteousness as the waves of the sea. Joy and gladness shall swell every heart, and to the author and finisher of all good shall arise, as a cloud of incense, from the whole earth, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.”

From an attentive perusal of this short sketch of the history of the American Temperance Society, three important convictions will be forced on the mind of the reader, viz. that the Americans are yet capable of a strong religious excitement; that morality is, by them, considered a national cause; and that their political leaders, convinced of the importance of moral and religious institutions are willing to aid in securing and promoting their influence. Nor have they 343 been less successful in making a political argument of it, to prove that the laws authorising men to traffic in ardent spirits, violate the first principle of

political economy. Their reasoning on the subject is plain and impressive, and supported by facts well calculated to illustrate the proposition.

“The wealth of a nation,” they argue, “consists of the wealth of all the individvals that compose it. The sources of wealth are labour, land, and capital. The land is indeed the product of the two former; but as it may be used to increase their value, it is considered, by writers on political economy, as one of the original sources of national wealth. Whatever lessens either of these, or their productiveness when employed upon each other, lessens the wealth of the country.”

“Capital may be employed, in two ways; either to produce new capital, or merely to afford gratification, and in the production of gratification be consumed without replacing its value. The first may be called capital, and the last expenditure. These will of course bear inverse proportions to each other. If the first be large, the second must be small; and *vice* Z 4 344 *versa.* Without any change of the amount of wealth, capital will be increased by the lessening of expenditure, and lessened by the increase of expenditure. Although the manner of dividing makes no difference with the present amount of national wealth, it makes a great difference with the future amount; as it alters materially the sources which produce it, and the means of an equal or increased reproduction.”

“For instance, a man, fond of noise, and excited agreeably by the hearing of it, pays a dollar for gunpowder, and touches fire to it. He occasions an entire loss of that amount of property. Although the powder-maker and the merchant may both have received their pay, if it has not benefited the man, to him it has been a total loss; and if the sale of it was no more profitable than would have been the sale of some useful article, it has been an entire loss to the community. And if by the explosion the man is burnt, partially loses his reason, is taken off, for a time, from business, and confined by sickness to his bed, must have nurses, physicians, &c., the loss is still increased. And if he never recovers fully his health or reason, suffers in his social affections and moral 345 sensibility, becomes less faithful in the education of his children, and they are more exposed to temptation and ruin,

and he is never again as able or willing to be habitually employed in productive labour, the nation loses a sum equal to the amount of all these put together. And if his example leads other men to spend, and to suffer in the same way, the loss is still urther increased; and so on through all its effects."

"And even though the powder-maker and the merchant have made enormous profits, this does not prevent the loss to the community, any more than the enormous profits of lottery-gamblers, or counterfeiters of the public coin, prevents loss to the community. Nor does it meet the case, to say that the property only changes hands. This is not true. The man who sold the powder made a profit of only a part of the money which the other man paid for it; while the latter lost not only the whole but vastly more. The whole of the original cost was only a small part of the loss to the original buyer, and to the nation. The merchant gained nothing of the time, and other numerous expenses, which the buyer lost; nor 346 does he in any way remunerate the community for that loss."

"Suppose that man, instead of buying the powder, had bought a pair of shoes; and that the tanner and shoe-maker had gained in this case, what the powder-maker and the merchant gained in the other; and that by the use of the shoes, though they were finally worn out, the man gained twice as much as he gave for them, without any loss of health, or reason, or social affection or moral susceptibility; and without any of the consequent evils;—who cannot see that it would have increased his wealth, and that of the nation, without injury to any, and have promoted the benefit of all?"

"This illustrates the principle with regard to ardent spirits. A man buys a quantity of it, and drinks it; when he would be, as is the case with every man, in all respects better without it. It is to him an entire loss. The merchant may have made a profit of one quarter of the cost, but the buyer loses the whole; and he loses the time employed in obtaining and drinking it. He loses also, and the community loses, equal to all its deteriorating effects upon his body and mind, his children and all 347 who come under his influence. His land becomes less productive; his capital, produced by his land and labour, is diminished; and thus the means

are diminished of future reproduction. And by the increase of expenditure in proportion to the capital, it is still further diminished, till to meet the increasingly disproportionate expenses, the whole is often taken, and the means of future reproduction are entirely exhausted.—And, as there is no seed to sow, there is, of course, no future harvest."

"This is but a simple history of what is taking place in thousands of cases continually; and of what is the tendency of the traffic in ardent spirit from beginning to end. It lessens the productiveness of land and labour, and consequently diminishes the amount of capital; while, in proportion, it increases the expenditure, and thus in both ways is constantly exhausting the means of future reproduction.—And this is its tendency, in all its bearings, in proportion to the quantity used, from the man who takes only his glass, to the man who takes his quart a day. It is a palpable and gross violation of all correct principles of political 348 economy; and from beginning to end tends to diminish all the sources of national wealth."

"And are not the laws," continue they—alluding to the licensing of dram-shops,—"which sanction the sale of ardent spirits, horrible laws? Do they not tend, by their whole influence, to render the business respectable, to perpetuate it, and permanently to produce such results? Results none the less horrible because produced according to law; and which stamp the law that sanctions the business which produces them, with the dark, deep, and indelible impress of vice?" * * What moral right have legislators to pass laws, which enable men legally to injure their fellow-men, to increase their taxes, and expose their children to drunkenness and ruin? * * *

"But it is said, the licensing of the traffic is a source of revenue to the state, and therefore the public good requires it. This revenue is much like the woman who sold her grain and her rags to purchase whiskey for her children. She said it was cheaper to keep them on whiskey than on bread; and as it made a market for her rags, it was a source of profit; in government language, of revenue. Her 349 garments and those of her children were soon

nearly all rags, and all sold; when her revenue had become such that she and her children, as a public burden, were obliged, by a public tax, to be supported at the almshouse."

They then proceed to prove that in nearly every state of the Union the support of paupers occasioned by the traffic in ardent spirits, draws annually sums from the public treasury equal to twice and three times the revenue raised by licensing dram-shops, and conclude their argument with reproaching the legislators—

"Who build prisons, and license men to carry on the trade that fills them; erect lunatic asylums, and furnish their tenants; build almshouses, and license pauper-making manufactories to fill them; augment four-fold the public burden, and ten-fold the personal and domestic wretchedness of the country. * * * And as to those who say "The object of licensing is not to encourage the sale and use of spirits, but to restrain prevent it," there are two answers for them. The first is, it does not restrain and prevent it. It has been tried effectually for more than half a century; and 350 its fruits have been manifested in the living wretchedness, and in the dying agonies of more than a million of men.—Notwithstanding all such restraints and preventions, the evil constantly increased, till it had well nigh proved our ruin.—The other answer is, *the licensing of sin is not the way to prevent or restrain it, but it is the way to sanction and perpetuate it; by declaring to the community that if practised legally, it is right; and thus preventing the efficacy of truths and facts in producing the conviction that it is wrong.* Let legislators, chosen by the people, and respectable in society license any sin, and it tends to shield that sin from public odium; and to perpetuate it, by presenting for it a legal justification."

"He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just; even they both are an abomination to the Lord."

The Americans have taken up the cause of temperance with an enthusiastic ardour which entitles them justly to the gratitude of mankind. They have, in this single instance, done more for the suppression of vice throughout the world than the united efforts of a host of

princes could have accomplished. They have set to the world 351 a national example of voluntary submission to the laws of morality and of God; and of the blessings which result from it to every condition of society. Their example has been imitated in every quarter of the globe, and is every where productive of the same happy results. From the Islands of the South Sea to the centre of civilization in Great Britain, their efforts are hailed with cordial approbation, and promote the cause of humanity. If the Americans have borrowed their civilization from Europe, they have discharged a part of their debt by teaching her the virtue of temperance.

Nor is this the only instance in which the efforts of Americans have promoted the welfare of mankind. The example set them by the “British and Foreign Bible Society” has been nobly imitated in the United States; and the American Bible Society possesses, now, next to the English, the largest funds, and is most instrumental in promoting the interests of Christianity. Its affairs are conducted by one president, twenty-one vice-presidents, one treasurer, four corresponding secretaries, and thirty-six managers.

The receipts of the society, since its origin in 1816, were as follows:— 352

Dollars. Cents.

1817 35,877 46

1818 36,564 30

1819 53,223 94

1820 41,361 97

1821 47,009 20

1822 40,682 34

1823 52,021 75

1824 42,416 95

1825 49,698 08

1826 46,115 47

1827 65,192 88

1828 75,879 93

1829 143,184 33

1880 170,067 55

1831 125,316 79

1832 107,059 00

1883 84,935 48

1834 86,600 82

1835 100,806 26

Total in 19 years 1,404,009 50 or about 800,000 *l.* sterling.

The number of Bibles and Testaments, issued from the depository of the Society till 1835, was 353 1,767,936; and that of the year 1835 alone 123,236. Besides the issues from the depository, large sums of money have been granted to missionary establishments at Constantinople, Bombay, Ceylon, Burmah, China, and the Sandwich Islands, to aid the

printing and circulating of the Scriptures in various pagan tongues into which they have been translated.

“The American Board of Commissioners” is another society for the promotion of Christianity. The designs of this society are stated to be “By disseminating primarily the Christian religion, and subordinately all kind of useful knowledge; to improve the social, intellectual and religious condition of heathen and other anti-christian nations; and for this purpose to send abroad preachers, physicians, male and female school-teachers, mechanics, agriculturists, 'c.; who are employed in preaching the Gospel, translating, printing, and putting into the hands of the people the Holy Scriptures, religious tracts, school-books, &c.; in teaching and superintending schools, training native preachers and schoolmasters, and administering medicine to the diseased; and in teaching the mechanic arts and husbandry.” A more extensive plan of charity VOL. I. A A 354 was certainly never conceived by human beings, nor executed with more cheerfulness and perseverance. By this Society the New Testament has been translated and printed in the Mahratta, the Armeno-Turkish and the Hawaiian languages; and one or more of the Gospels in the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Seneca. Books, portions of the Scriptures, and religious tracts, have been printed in seventeen different languages, exclusive of the English, viz. Italian, Greek, Armeno-Turkish, Ancient Armenian, Arabic, Mahratta, Tamul, Chinese, Hawaiian, Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Osage, Seneca, Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Abernaquois. The Board possesses nine printing establishments, two type and stereotype foundries, and several bookbinder's establishments. The Society employs 102 preachers (7 of whom are physicians), 9 physicians, 9 printers, 30 teachers, and 161 married and unmarried females. The number of schools is 474; that of the pupils 37,311; and the whole number of those who have been educated not less than 80,000! There are also connected with the Society two seminaries for the education of native preachers and teachers, with about 250 students.

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The funds of the Society, which consist entirely of voluntary contributions, and the income from the “Missionary Herald,” a periodical published by the Society, were as follows:—

Dollars. Cents.

In the year 1811 999 52

1812 13,611 50

1813 11,361 18

1814 12,265 56

1815 9,993 89

1816 12,501 03

1817 29,948 63

1818 34,727 72

1819 37,520 63

1820 39,949 45

1821 47,354 95

1822 59,083 87

1823 55,758 94

1824 47,483 58

1825 55,716 18

1826 61,616 25

1827 88,341 89

1828 102,009 64

1829 106,928 26

1830 83,019 37 A A 2

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In the year 1831 100,934 09

1832 130,574 12

1833 145,844 77

1834 152,386 10

Total in 24 years 1,439,931 12 or about 288,000 *l.* sterling.

The following table, taken from the “American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge,” of 1836, will show the missions, the time when each was commenced, and the number of stations, preachers, &c., connected with each.

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AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.

Missions. Commenced. Stations. Preachers. Physicians not ordained Teachers, Printers, Farmers. Females. Total. Native Assistants. Pupils. Church Members Printing Presses. West Africa 1834 1 1 1 2 S. E. Africa 1835 2 5 1 6 12 Greece 1880 2 2 2 4 142 Constantinople 1831 1 3 3 6 200 Asia Minor 1833 4 6 1 7 14 1 1 Syria and Holy Land 1823 3 5 7 12 14 4 1 Nestorians (Persia) 1834 1 1 1 2 4 Mohammedans (Persia) 1835 1 1 1 Mahrattas 1813 2 7 4 12 23 1 2,000 28 3 Tamul People 1816 9 14 1 1 16 32 35 3,713

230 2 Siam 1831 1 3 1 3 7 China 1830 21 3 3 1 3 1 Indian Archipelago 1835 1 3 2 5 2 Sandwich Islands 1820 14 24 2 5 34 65 30,000 782 3 East Cherokees 1817 5 3 1 4 13 21 2 430 250 West Cherokees 1820 3 3 5 10 18 175 106 1 Chocktaws 1818 6 6 3 10 19 160 195 Creeks 1832 1 1 1 1 3 15 12 Osages 1820 3 2 4 6 12 40 20 Pawnees 1834 1 1 1 2 Sioux 1835 2 2 1 8 Ojibwas 1831 4 2 5 5 11 45 Mackinaw 1823 1 2 6 8 60 70 Stockbridge Indians 1827 1 1 1 6 3 37 64 New York Indians 1805 4 3 1 8 12 280 210 Explorers near the Rocky Mountains 1 1 1 Total 94 103 9 39 160 308 89 37,811 1971 14 358

It will also be perceived that the funds and the usefulness of the society are on the increase; the largest sums having been given since 1827, and 14 new stations created since 1830.

The “American *Home* Missionary Society” was instituted in the city of New York on the 6th of May, 1826. The number of its missionaries and agents consisted, in 1835, of 719; and the number of congregations and missionary districts, aided by the society, was 1050. Under their ministry about 25,000 individuals had been added to the churches of Christ; from 10,000 to 40,000 children were annually instructed in Sabbath Schools; and in Bible Classes, from 2,000 to 12,000 of all ages.

“The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions” being under the patronage of the Congressional Church of New England, and the Presbyterian and the Reformed Dutch Churches of the Middle, Western, and Southern States, the *Baptists* formed another missionary society, under the name of “The Baptist General Convention of the United States for Foreign Missions.” The object of the society is “the 359 propagation of the Gospel among the heathens, and the promotion of pure Christianity in Christendom.” The funds received during the last year (1835) were 58,520 dollars 28 cents, or about 11,704 *l.* sterling.

The Missionary Stations are Missionaries. Assistants. Valley Towns, Cherokees, North Carolina 4 5 Thomas, on Grand River, Michigan 2 Sault de Ste. Marie, near Lake Superior 4 Tonawanda, near Niagara, New York 3 Shawanoe, Kansas River, near Missouri 4 Delawares, near the junction of the Kansas and Missouri 2 Otoes and Omahas, Bellevue, near Great Plate River 3 Putawatamies, North of the Missouri 2 Ottawas, South of Shawanoe 2 Creeks near the junction of the Arkansas and Verdigris 4 2 Cherokees, in

Flint district, Cherokee county 1 Chocktaws, Chocktaw agency, on the Arkansas 1 Port au Prince, Hayti 1 PARIS, France 3 Hamburg, Germany 1 Liberia, Africa 5 Maulmein, Burmah 10 8 Rangoon, ditto 4 7 Ava, ditto 2 2 Chummerah, ditto 2 Newville, ditto Tavoy, ditto 5 3 Mergui, ditto 2 N. Arracan, ditto 2 S. Arracan, ditto 2 Bankok, Siam 4 1 Total 72 31

Eighteen churches are connected with these stations, embracing 1400 members; and about A A 4 360 600 scholars are taught in the schools. One printing press is employed in the Indian territory, and four in Burmah; from which publications are issued in seven different languages.

“The Baptist *Home* Missionary Society,” has for its object to preach the Gospel in North America (comprising Upper and Lower Canada). The receipts of this society during the last year (1835) were 9000 dollars, or 1800l. sterling.

The Methodist Episcopal Church have also formed a missionary society. Its receipts, ending 1835, amounted to 30,500 dollars, or about 6,100l. sterling. It employed 14 preachers at Liberia (all coloured men), and six school-teachers. The number of church members was 204, and about 200 children were taught at schools. Including other missions, the society had 144 missionaries, 16,430 members, and 32 teachers; and instructed 940 pupils.

The Protestant Episcopal Church have also formed a “Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.” Its receipts in 1834 amounted to 24,007 dollars 97 cents, or about 5,200 *l.* sterling; it employed 20 Missionaries in the Southern and 361 Western States, two in Greece, and two in China.

For the *education* of young men for the ministry the “American Education Society” was established, under the superintendence of a president, one vice-president and twelve directors. This society offered, first, gratuitous assistance to young men; *but finding that this encouraged idleness,* they fixed upon a definite sum to be granted to beneficiaries, throwing them for support in some measure, on their own resources. In 1820, another method of assisting them *by loans* was adopted; and an obligation required of them, to

refund one half the amount received. This was found to operate so favourably, that since 1826 an obligation has been required *to refund the whole with interest* , after a reasonable time subsequent to the beneficiary's education, and his entrance upon the active duties of his profession. The notes, however, of foreign and domestic missionaries, and of ministers settled over feeble churches, may be cancelled at the discretion of the Board of Directors. The sum annually furnished is 48 dollars or 9 *l.* 12 *s.* sterling, to academical students, and 75 dollars or 15 *l.* 362 sterling, to collegiate and theological students. Since its foundation, the society have assisted 2,258 young men; of those who received aid from the funds of the society, during the year 1835, 200 were connected with 17 theological seminaries, 538 with 37 colleges, and 302 with academical and public schools;—making in all 1,040 young men connected with 152 institutions of learning. The whole amount *refunded* by beneficiaries, since they have entered on the ministry, is 14,111 dollars 16 cents, and their earnings, by preaching and school-keeping, 132,623 dollars, or 26,524 *l.* sterling. The society publishes a journal, entitled file “American Quarterly Register.”

The American Sunday School Union, after the plan of that established in Great Britain by Robert Raikes, isentirely under the direction of laymen. No clergyman can ever be an officer or manager of the society; and to secure a more perfect concurrence of Christians, the agents, missionaries, and other persons employed by the society, are selected *indiscriminately from different denominations.* Its object is “the establishment and support of Sunday schools, and the 363 distribution of the society's publications at the lowest prices, or gratuitously, *not only in America, buat at the various Protestant missionary stations on the earth, where they are wanted for English readers;* as well as for the aid of compilers and translators in native languages.” The reports of this society, up to May 1835, show that there are, or have been connected with it, 16,000 schools, 115,000 teachers, and 799,000 pupils. The publications cost 1 mill *per* page (equal to about one-third of a farthing).

“The American Tract Society,” whose object it is to distribute tracts “for the promotion of morality and religion,” has received during the ten years of its existence the sum of

225,304 dollars 25 cents, or above 45,000 *l.* sterling, with which they have published 754 new publications, and distributed altogether 481,990,418 pages.

The most important feature of “the American Unitarian Association” is the establishment in Boston, of a ministry for the moral and spiritual benefit of such of the poor as have no place of worship, and no religious instruction. The benefits which this ministry confers on the poor, in the person of the benevolent and eloquent 364 Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, are incalculable; and it is perhaps the most charitable institution in that philanthropic city.

On the whole, it appears that the receipts of the principal benevolent institutions in the United States during the year 1835 amounted to 815,302 dollars 23 cents, or 163,000 *l.* sterling.

All these societies are formed for the promotion of morality, religion, and education; and impose a tax of 3 *s.* sterling *per annum* on every white inhabitant of the United States. When to this are added the ordinary taxes for the support of common schools, it will be found that the Americans pay more for the moral and religious improvement of society, than any other nation, England herself, in proportion to her population, not excepted. And yet they have been reproached with selfishness; with a sordid attachment to pecuniary gain and profit, and a total neglect of the nobler qualities of the mind! “Money,” it has been added, “is the sole talisman of the Americans; but not a word has been said of the manner in which they disburse it. Europeans could see no other causes of prosperity in the United States, than the *mercantile* 365 habits of their inhabitants, and the immense natural resources of the country. But the time will come when they will be convinced of their error; when the moral progress of America will keep pace with her physical developement, and her influence on mankind, in general, be hailed with joyful gratitude.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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